

8

HISTORICAL Relation
OF THE
CONSPIRACY
OF
John Lewis Count de Fieschi
AGAINST
The CITY and REPUBLIC
of GENOVA
GENOVA.
In the YEAR 1547.

8

Written in Italian by *Angelo Mas-
sari*, Gentleman of the Bed Chamber
to Pope Urban the Eighth.

Done into English by the Honourable
Hugh Hunt Esq;

*Conspiration du Comte de Fieschi contre la
Republique de Gênes, l'an 1547. Par
Angelo Massari, Gentilhomme de la
Chambre du Pape Urbain VIII. Traduite
en Anglois par M. Hunt.*

London, Printed for John Norton at the
Green Arbour over against the Temple
Gate in Fleet Street, 1697.



Novemb. 8th, 1692.

Imprimatur,

Edmund Bobun.

TO
The QUEEN's

Most Excellent Majesty.

MADAM,

IT is so high a Presumption in me to beg Your Majesty's Acceptance of the ensuing Translation, that were not Your Royal Clemency as extensive as Your Power, I could not hope for Pardon. There

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Epistle Dedicatory.

are but few Authors,
whose Writings can with-
out Arrogance intrude
upon those small porti-
ons of Time, which the
weighty Cares of Your
Royal Station permit
Your Majesty to call
Your own. Nevertheless
the consideration of Your
Majesty's Indulgence to
all Your Subjects induced
me to think that, as the
Almighty Being, whose
Grace You are, re-
gards not so much the
value of the Sacrifice, as
the

Epistle Dedicatory

the favour of him that
offers it, to Your Majesty
will be graciously
pleas'd to forgive this Of-
ficious submission of one,
who hath nothing to re-
commend himself, on
what he Addresses to
Your Great Name but an
unfeign'd Loyalty.

The same Motive that
first encourag'd me to at-
tempt the Translation of this
Historical Tract, shall
be likewise in a great
measure, the Measure of my
satisfaction of it.

Epistle Dedicatory.

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out Arrogance intrude
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Image you are, re-
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Epistle Dedicatory

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The same Motive that
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me likewise in a proper
measure, with the Assen-
sion of his Majesty, to

Epistle Dedicatory.

Majesty's Feet : Not only because it was written by an Author of an establish'd Reputation, but also because it bears so visible a Resemblance to the late Happy Revolution, that plac'd Your Sacred Majesty on the Throne of these Kingdoms. The Parallel, I must confess, agrees not in all particulars. *Genova* bears no proportion to *England*, nor *Doria* to His present Majesty, whether we consider his Character

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or the Actions he perform'd. And besides, *England* hath receiv'd a far more signal and valuable Deliverance by His Majesty's Arrival, than *Genova* did by the means of her Great Benefactor. Their Civil Liberties were for a while under an Eclipse, & their Constitution was very much alter'd by that Faction that sided with the *French*: but their Religion was still the same with that of their Oppressors; nor had they the dismal

Epistle Dedicatory

Prospect, that we had
continually before our
Eyes, of the sad Choice
of being either Martyrs
or Apostates. And our
Ingratitude, as well as
Folly, is far worse than
that of those *Genoveses*,
who were so fully blind-
ed by Avarice, Ambition,
or Revenge, as to mistake
the Traytor for the Pa-
triot, and lend *Fieschi* their
Assistance to destroy *Do-
ria*, and enslave them-
selves. But herein our side
of the Parallel falls very
short

Epistle Dedicatory

short of that Conspiracy.
For, to our great Comfort,
the Enemies of Your Ma-
sty's Government are not
likely to bring their De-
signs to so dangerous an
Issue: They have not a
Fieschi to lead them, nor
a *French Army* so near
at hand to second them,
nor are they in them-
selves so numerous and
powerful.

May the Great God of
Heaven and Earth every
day lessen their Number
and

Epistle Dedicatory
Prospect, that we had

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Epistle Dedicatory

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and

Epistle Dedicatory

Prospect, that we had continually before our Eyes, of the sad Choice of being either Martyrs or Apostates. And our Ingratitude, as well as Folly, is far worse than that of those *Canoueses*, who were so fatally blinded by Avarice, Ambition, or Revenge as to mistake the Traytor for the Patriot, and lend *Fieschi* their Assistance to destroy *Doria*, and enslave themselves. But herein our side of the Parallel falls very short

Epistle Dedicatory

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Heaven and Earth every
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and

Epistle Dedicatory.

and their Power, and their Malice, and still preserve those Sacred Lives on which the Glory, Happiness, and Security of *England* does depend, from all Dangers, and from all Treacherous Attempts : May the Constant Care of Heaven defend Your Majesties Government against all Opposition and Designs, Prosper Your Arms with Victory, and Your Counsels with Success, and long continue to us the Blessings

Epistle Dedicatory.

sings we now enjoy by
the Addition of many
Periods of Years to Your
Majesties Happy and
Auspicious Reign: May
all Your Subjects endeavour
to express their Sincere
and Loyal Affections
with as much Zeal
and Vigour, as shall be
always shew'd in Your
Majesties Service by,

M A D A M,

*Your Majesties most Humble,
most Obedient, and most
Faithful Subject and Servant,*

H. Hare,

Epistle Dedicatory.

things we now enjoy by
the Addition of many
Months of Years to Your
Majesties Happy and
Auspicious Reign: May
all Your Subjects under
your to cherish and
love and Loyalty
and with as much Zeal
and Vigour as shall be
always shew'd in Your
Majesties Service by

M A D A M,

Thomas Digges

1629

THE
AUTHOR'S
PREFACE.

READER,

I have resolv'd to give the World an Historical Account of the Affairs and Transactions of *Italy* in the last Century; what my Reasons are for setting my self such a Task, thou art not to expect I shou'd at present impart to thee. How able I am to perform the Work I have undertaken, must be left to thy Judgment: But as to the Candor and Sincerity which are indispensably requisite to a Good Historian, those, I promise thee, shall be faithfully and diligently observ'd. Truth, free from the Blemishes of irregular Passions,

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The Preface.

Passions, is the darling Object of my Pen, and shall be my first and greatest Care: Hatred, I know, too generally attends it, because Vicious Persons dread an Enterview with this Beautiful Virgin, no less than weak Eyes avoid the Sun-shine. But however, Wise Men, and Princes especially, (who are much the properer Judges) would not have the Publick impos'd upon, nor Posterity deluded by the Artificial Lyes of a Mercenary or byass'd Historian. And if any of their Ancestors, or Kindred's Faults are transmitted to After Ages, 'tis not the Writer that Records them, but the Persons who commit them, that are to be blam'd: And let those, who have any hard thoughts of such a Writer, remember, that the Evangelists who were guided by an infallible Spirit, and who are the best Patterns we can follow, have not concealed from us either *St. Peter's* Denial of his Master, or the Unbelief of *St. Thomas*, tho' they were both of them Apostles.

But

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But of this I shall treat more at length on * another occasion.

Among the Remarkable Accidents which are to be taken notice of, as happening within the period of time, I propose to write of, I have pitched upon the Conspiracy of *John Lewis Count de Fieschi*, that by this short Essay, the World may know what Judgment to make of the rest of the Work. For having never yet set my self to write History I shou'd be very unwilling to be guilty either in my Stile, or Method, of any thing that might distast the Reader, and so render my Pains useless and ineffectual. 'Tis true, this short Essay in History, though now Publish'd, was never design'd for the Press, being begun by Chance, and writ in haste: And consequently not so free from Errors as I could wish it. I took it in hand more for my own diversion, than the Publick View, and

* See *Trattato Secondo dell' Arte Historica* cap. 6. pag. 194. Scritta di Agost. Mascardi. Edit. Venet. 1655. Ottavo.

The Preface.

therefore the Criticks must excuse it; if it falls short of an Exact History.

But the Work I am about is of a larger Extent : 'Tis design'd for the Publick Good : Its end is to instruct as well as delight the Readers : It preserves the Memories of Brave Men from Oblivion : And is an Authentick Record of past Transactions : Therefore it must be manag'd in all its parts with Judgment and Discretion. However, as I am not so vain as to despise the Censures of so Learn'd an Age as is the present ; so neither shall I be so inconsiderate as to Publish my own Composures till they have undergone the Examination of those, whose Opinions I can more safely rely on.

Fieschi's Conspiracy now appears in Publick : And as *Apelles* stood behind his Picture, Anxiously expecting what Sentence should be pass'd on it by the Judges of Painting, so am I

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no less desirous to know what the Learned World thinks of this Essay of mine. And I plainly and ingenuously declare, That I shall not only think my self extremely oblig'd to any Person who will impart freely to me his real Sentiments of this Tract; but also that whosoever finds any remarkable Error either in my Stile or Method, and does not communicate to me his Animadversions on it, will be very unkind to the Publick: For after such a Friendly Challenge, if the History I am about be tainted with those Blemishes, the World, I hope, will be so Just as to impute them to my want of due information, and not my unwillingness to receive it.

Some perhaps will be of Opinion, that so small a part of an intire History shou'd not have been Publish'd by its self. To these, I Answer, that *Fieschi's* Conspiracy, as I have related it, is to be look'd on as an Historical Tract not at all depending

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on the larger Volume ; For in that it will appear under another Figure. Many of the particular Accidents, which I have here enlarg'd on, being there to be omitted, and the most Remarkable of them being only to be hinted at. 'Tis at present my intention, in this short Essay, to describe the Rise, Progress, and Conclusion of one Action, with all the Circumstances attending it : Which will give me occasion of trying how I can draw in Mignature, those Beauties, which a compleat Body of History represents in their full proportions. Nor do I herein proceed without the Authority of very great Examples. I shall not insist on the Ancients, especially *Salust*, since the present Age affords me a Pattern of equal Value. His Eminency Cardinal *Bentivoglio* hath writ some Historical Tracts in our Tongue with so much Eloquence and so Judicious an Exactness, that I desire no better a Precedent : His Stile is always strong and noble, and yet it wants not a
Copious

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Copious and Harmonious Fluency : His Thoughts are always well link'd together, and properly adapted to the Subject : His Observations shew how thoroughly he Consider'd what he writ, and how clear a View he had of the Consequences of Things : His Sentences, whether Moral, or Political, are so weighty in themselves, and so seasonably brought in, that they are always welcome to the Reader : His Speeches are full of Life and Energy : In a word, whatever he has writ, shews us 'tis possible, that a Poetical Fancy, a Rhetorical Vein, and a Solid Judgment, may meet in one Person. In imitation of his Works, especially his Historical Essays, I have endeavour'd to manage *Fieschi's* Conspiracy ; though I must acknowledge after all, that my Writings are but a faint and ill drawn Copy of so Excellent and Perfect an Original.

Perhaps some may think the Speeches in this small Tract are too long and too many : To these, I

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Answer, That were it seasonable,

* See this point fully discust in *Mascardi's Trattato Secondo dell'Arte Historica*, cap. 4. pag. 159, &c. Ed. Ven. 1655.

much might be alledg'd in * defence of them, but at present, though I have Consider'd what Objections may be urg'd, yet I think there is no need of defending my self, till I know what is

laid to my charge. Let it suffice, if I repeat, what I have already told my Reader, that being desirous in this short Essay to touch upon all the parts of a Compleat History, I was forc'd to Embrace those Occasions of enlarging, especially in the Speeches, which otherwise I should have let slip. Besides, let it be Consider'd, that when an Affair of this Moment comes to be debated, when the Persons that are to deliberate on it are of different Opinions, and when all the Reasons *Pro* and *Con* are to be seriously and maturely weigh'd, 'twill not be found so easie, as some may imagine, to end the dispute in Six Words. Nevertheless I submissively re-

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referr my self to the Judgment of the ingenious Reader : Which I shall eagerly expect to be inform'd of. As likewise I must earnestly intreat all Persons who are willing to forward the design I have in hand, to furnish me with such Memoirs as they are Masters of, and they may think I have not seen. For these will also be extreemly useful to me. And the more exact and particular the Notices are which I shall receive, so much the less will the Reader be disappointed in the Matter and Method of my History. But if the Learned World, who I think have no small Interest in Works of this Nature, shall neglect to give me the Assistance I have begg'd of them, they must blame themselves, and not me, if my History falls short of their Expectation.

Augustin Mascardi.

The

The Life of the Author,
as it is Recorded in the
Book of the Glories of the
Academy *Degli Incogniti* at
Venice.

Augustin Mascardi derives his Original from a very Noble Family, which about Four Hundred Years ago began to flourish in Liguria: He was Born in the Castle Della Specie, a Place sufficiently remarkable, and situate on the Confines of Lunigia. He was hardly arriv'd to those Years, when others just begin to know that they are alive, before he shew'd himself wonderfully inclin'd to Learning; And this
Natu-

The Author's Life.

Natural Propensity of his being improv'd by a Liberal Education, his Youth prov'd very fruitful of excellent Composures both in Latin and Italian, wherewith he oblig'd his Native Country, being equally Master of both those Languages) that the Wits of that Time could not forbear vying with one another in the delightful Employment of giving him his due Encomiums. Hereupon the Great Cardinal Alexander d' Estè, and all that Illustrious Family, took him into their particular Favour and Protection ; which he gratefully acknowledg'd by transmitting their Glorious Actions to Posterity in several of his Writings. About the same time the several Orations

The Author's Life.

tions he occasionally made in

(a) See Prof.
Volg. Parte Se-
cunda, p. 367,
396, 536.

(b) Aug. Mas-
cardi's Prof.
Volg. Parte Se-
cunda, p. 271,
298, 325, 349.

(c) Prof.
Volg. Parte Se-
cunda, p. 414,
433, 456, 478.

Praise of (a) Great
Princes then Living,
and (b) Persons de-
ceased who had been
Eminent for their Pi-
ety, and (c) Canoniz'd
for their Zeal to the
Catholick Religion,
gain'd him the Glorious Chara-
cter of the Tully of his Age,
not only in Italy his Native
Country, but also in all Foreign
Parts, where the Italian Tongue
was at all esteem'd. After this
he went to Rome, where his
Merits were quickly taken notice
of, and rewarded with the Gene-
ral Applause due to a Person of
so extraordinary Wit and Learn-
ing. But some unlucky Acci-
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lent in his Affairs forcing him
to remove to Genoua, he had
there an opportunity to display
his Eloquence in that famous Aca-
demy ; which he did to the ex-
treme satisfaction of the Learn'd
Nobility of that City, in his ex-
cellent Discourses on Cebes's Ta-
le. From hence after a while he
came back to Rome, where be-
ing entertain'd in the Palace of
Prince Maurice Cardinal of Sa-
voy, he writ on the occasion of
Pope Urban the 8th's Coronati-
on, a description of the Solemn-
ty, and a Panegyricall Discourse on
that Pope, Entituled, The Pumps
of the Campidoglio, when
His Holiness Pope Urban the
8th took Possession of the Church
of St. John Lateran. This Dis-
course

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course was so full of fine thoughts elegantly exprest, that all Italy admir'd it, and Mascardi's Fame receiv'd from it so great an increase, that he was rank'd among the best Writers of the Age. Hereupon the Pope advanc'd him to the Dignity of Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, and he likewise was made Rhetorick Professor in the Publick Schools of Rome. These Employments were indeed of no inconsiderable value, but yet below his great Merit, Fortune always declaring her self an Enemy to Worth and Vertue. Some few Years after this Mascardi came to Venice, to take care of the Impression of his Works, and honour'd our Academy so far as to be admitted a
Mem-

The Author's Life.

Member of it. But after a short stay with us, his Employments call'd him back to Rome, where his Ingenuity and Learning again exerted it self, no less to his own immortal honour, than to the enriching and beautifying our Language: For in all his Writings he shew'd himself a Man well skill'd in all useful and genteel sorts of Learning, of a sound Judgment, pure Eloquence, fruitful Fancy, and a noble way of Expression peculiar to himself. The Conspiracy of John Lewis Count de Fieschi is a clear proof how well he would have succeeded in his design of Writing a general History of the Transactions of Italy in the last Century; since by this he hath made it evident,

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vident, that he was Master in the highest degree of all those perfections, without the concurrence of which, as he proves in his incomparable Tract of the Art of Writing History, no Man deserves the Name of a Compleat Historian. At last when he had arriv'd to a very high pitch of Glory and Renown, Death robb'd the Learn'd World of this inestimable Treasure; so great a loss was universally regretted: But his Memory still lives, his Reputation grows every day more and more illustrious, and our Posterity many Ages hence will envy our happiness in having had for our Contemporary a person of so conspicuous and real Merits.

THE
TRANSLATOR'S
PREFACE

Prefaces, as they are generally manag'd, are a direct Contradiction to Horace's Rule, and prove neither Diverting nor Profitable to the Reader. For they usually consist of little besides the Common Excuses that Authors suspicious of their Fame, and distrustful of their Abilities (or at least desirous to seem so) are pleas'd to make for their exposing themselves to the Publick View and censure of the Age: Vainly conceiving that Three or Four Pages spent in such Apologies will either bide or atone for Faults, or add fresh Lustre to the Real Beauties

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Beauties of the Books they Publish. For my part I always look'd upon such Introductions as tedious and impertinent; and I am the more confin'd in that Sentiment, When I consider the Practice of those Writers who are worth imitating, the Intrinsic Value of whose Works daily gains an unmask'd Applause, and will doubtless effectually recommend them to the deserv'd Esteem and Admiration of future Ages. Among these I cannot but reckon Mascardi, the Author of the ensuing Tract; the present scarcity of whose Writings, after so many Editions, is a sufficient Evidence how Universal an Applause they have met with in the Learn'd World. The short Character of him, which I have prefix'd to the following Translation, fully informs us how highly he was Esteem'd by the most Eminent Persons in Italy; nay, even by that Great Judge and Patron of Wit and Learning Pope Urban the Eighth, whose Poems probably will live when his Pontificate is forgotten. Nor will the Illustrious Character given of Mascardi

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cardi by that Famous (a) Naudæus, contribute less to the Eternizing his Memory, and Establishing his Reputation.

(a) *Ut ingenio atque Natura præstanti nemini concedit, ita multa*

insuper obtinet varia Lætionis & scientiarum præsidia eruditissimus eloquentiæ Professor Augustinus Mascardus: quæis adjutus non secus in ejusmodi Tractatione [nempe de Historicâ methodo] quam in cæteris facere consuevit :

————— Se quoq; possit
Tollere humo victorq; virum volitare per ora Gabæ.
Naudæi Bibliogr. Polit.

As for the Historical Account of Fieschi's Conspiracy, which I have here Translated, it found so kind a reception, that in less than Twenty

Tears, Two Impressions in (Q) Quarto being sold off, it was Printed the Third time in a (c) lesser Vo-

(b) Venet. 1629. Bologna. 1639.

(c) Venet. 1647. in 24^o.

lume with the same success. Nor was it long confin'd to the Italian Language; for it appear'd in French in the Year 1639, being Translated by the Sieur Bouchard Fontenay, and Printed by the Famous Camusat Printer and Bookseller to the French Academy then newly Erected by Cardinal Richelieu. 'Tis

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highly probable this Translation was not much inferior to the Original, when we consider the station that Camusat was placed in by that ingenious Society, and the Great Character that is given of him by Monsieur Pellisson ; (d)

(d) Hist.
de L'Academie
Francoise, p.
12, 13. Impr.
à La Haye,
1688. in 12^o.

who tells us, That he was not only the most Excellent and Accurate in that Art, of any that then practis'd it, but that he was a Man of very good Sense, and never Printed any Books, but such as were of an intrinsic Value : Insomuch that it was reckon'd almost an infallible Mark of the Excellency of any Treatise to be Publish'd by Camusat. Thus bath the ensuing Tract found its deserv'd Applause both in France and Italy, and therefore I cannot think those Hours misemploy'd that I spent in Translating it : However had I known that it had already appear'd in our Language, which I did not till after I had finish'd my Translation, I should hardly have begun the Attempt. But after I had perus'd the Two former Versions of it, I found

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found my self, out of Justice to my Author, rather oblig'd to proceed in the Publication of these Papers, then to desist from it. The First English Translation of this piece of Mascardi's, that I know of, makes up the Fifth part of the Third Book of Ibrahim, or the Illustrious Bassa, a Romance written by Monsieur Scudery, and English'd in the Year 1674. Scudery is indeed so ingenuous as to acknowledg that he is oblig'd to Mascardi for that part of his Story; and it were to be wish'd that he had been so just to our Author, as to have given us only a Translation of him. But instead of that he hath foisted in so many Fictions of his own, as degrade Mascardi from the Majesty of an Historian, and bring him down to his own Level of a tedious Romancer. And besides this, Mascardi hath been much abus'd by the Translator of Ibrahim, who exposes himself in almost every Page to his just Censure, That he was neither Master of his own Language, nor of the French; and consequently might have employ'd his time much better, then in

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troubling the World with an ill Translation of a Book tedious by its length, uselese in its design, and therefore on very good grounds dislik'd (as such Romancers generally are) by the present Age. Nay even the Fair Sex have now left these vain Amusements, of which they formerly were Zealous Admirers for the more delightful and profitable Study of True History: Being justly sensible that one of the strongest Motives to Virtue must be drawn from the Real Examples of it. And these a good Historian never fails to represent in their true Light, with the happy Consequences and great Rewards attending it. Whereas the Subject of our Modern Romancers is generally the blameable excess of all Humane Passions and Desires, as an ungovernable Anger, an exorbitant and boundless Ambition, and insatiable Revenge, an inconsiderate and blind Rashness, and a foolish and irregular Love. These, and such like are the shining Accomplishments of the Fictitious Heroes and Heroines: And 'tis no wonder that
when

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when an Author of Wit and Fancy employs all his Art in representing Vice in so lovely a Dress, the unvary Readers are taken with its borrow'd Charms, and are seduced into these fatal, tho' pleasing, Errors.

As for the other Translation of Fieschi's Conspiracy, which I saw not till after the first Sheet of mine was Printed, it came out in the Year 1678, among other select Discourses Translated from those Celebrated Wits of France, Pellisson, Sarasin, and Voiture. I expected in this to have found the faults of the former Translation, so well mended, that the Publishing of mine, would rather injure Mascardi's Reputation, than, in any measure, do him Justice. But upon perusing this Version, and comparing it with the Original, I found that besides the roughness of his English Stile, and several very obvious Errors, the Gentleman had allow'd himself the extravagant Liberty of Omitting, where he pleas'd, several material passages of it: Whereby those Beauties that shine through a regular

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and well connected History are quite lost; and Mascardi hath suffer'd no less by the Injudicious and Arbitrary Abbreviatures of this Translator, than

(e) Abon-
dance Sterile
Boileau L' Art
Poetique Chant.
premier.

by that barren superfluity, for which Scudery is so justly censur'd by Monsieur (e) Boileau.

These Considerations induced me to believe, that this Third Translation wou'd not be unacceptable to the World, nor much derogatory to the Fame of so Great an Author. How I have perform'd my Part in it, I freely leave to the Judgment of those who understand the Idioms of both Languages: Which though not so different from each other, as the English is from the French, yet are not so nearly alike, as to admit of a Translation too nicely and exactly Literal.

For this Reason I have all along chang'd Mascardi's Expressions where I found them not sutable to the English Dialect: And where, I thought the turn of that requir'd it, I have in some places

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places abridg'd the length of his Periods, in others I have enlarg'd upon his thoughts, as I believe he himself would have done, had he been to write in English. But I have not at all, (as I know of) by either of these Methods, varied from my Author's Sense, or gone beyond the Liberty which

he (f) himself allows, the Rules of Translation require, and all who have been successful in performances of this kind, either in Prose or Verse, have without scruple indulg'd themselves in, even where they pretend not to a Paraphrase, or an Allusion.

(f) Mascardi's Trattato Secondo dell'Arte Historica, p. 165. Edit. Venet. 1655. in 12o.

Having said thus much concerning the ensuing Tract, and the several Translations of it, it will not I suppose be improper to take some notice of the subject it treats of. Fieschi's Conspiracy was a Transaction as remarkable as any that happen'd in the last Century: Whether we Consider the crafty and well dispos'd Methods by which it was carried on, the Foreign Force that was

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to have seconded the Attempt, or the Wonderful Providence of God in defeating so Egregious a Villany, just as it was upon the point of being put in execution. The Copiousness of the subject might perhaps be some inducement to Mascardi to chuse it for his first Historical Essay; but I suppose his main design in it was to encourage the Genoueses in a vigorous and resolute defence of their Liberties, by representing the good success that had in the last Age attended the supporters of that Noble Cause, and the shameful defeats and disappointments that blasted all the Projects of the Enemies of the Republick. And if we reflect on the Circumstances of those times, it was a very seasonable and necessary piece of Service not only to Genoua, but also to all Italy.

(g) Venet.
1629.

(h) Dion.
Petav. Ration.
Temp. p. 1. l. 9.
p. 654. Ed.
Franc. 1665.
O Havana.

For it was not long before the (g) first Impression of this Tract, that a (h) French Army was sent against Genoua under the Command of the Constable
Les

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Les Diguieres, for the Assistance, as was pretended, of the Duke of Savoy. Though had the design succeeded, 'tis highly probable, the benefit of the Conquest would have accrued to the French King; who now began under the Conduct of Cardinal Richelieu to aspire at an Universal Monarchy to be founded on the Ruins of the House of Austria, which was then visibly declining.

In order to this end it was necessary he shou'd first Conquer Italy: Which, (as Monsieur de (i) Brantome told Charles the Ninth,) it was impossible he should ever compass till he could recover Genoua, and be Master at Sea.

(i) *Memoires de Monsieur de Brantome, T. 2. p. 39. Impr. à Leyd. 1666. in 12.*

Both these Advantages Francis the First lost by disobliging Doria: and the Genoueses have ever since had the greatest reason to be Jealous of a Crown that hath so often endeavour'd, sometimes by open force, but much more frequently by secret Conspiracies, to Reduce them to a State of Slavery. The Irruption therefore of the French Forces

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Forces into those Parts, and the daily encrease of their Power, very probably induced Mascardi to employ his Pen for the safety of Genoua, and the repose of Italy, by exciting in them a just and seasonable apprehension of so Formidable a Neighbour. And 'tis very great pity that this excellent Historical Tract is not again Reprinted in its Original Language, for the better Information of those Genoueses who may be apt to be wheedled by Monsieur Rebenac's smooth Harangues into a vain Opinion, that the French King really designs their Repose and Prosperity; and therefore desires their Friendship and Alliance, whom about Eight Tears ago he treated like the Vilest and most Despicable Slaves. But the Circumstances of Affairs are not a little changed from what they were: And Louis the XIVth who then laid his peremptory Commands on this Republick, to Restore the Fieschi's to those Dignities and Possessions that their Ancestors had justly forfeited by this Execrable Conspiracy, and upon their Wise Refusal,

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sal, exprest his Resentments of it, (as all Europe knows) with an unheard of Insolence, is now fain to sue to them for a Neutrality: And that in Terms but little sutable to those Pompous and Swelling Titles his Flatterers have forged for him.

It would be no difficult matter to draw a Parallel between the Genoueses of Fieschi's Party in the last Age, and the English Male-Contents in this. Their Forgetfulness of their late Miserable Servitude, their Ingratitude to Doria the Restorer of their Liberty, their Fondness of a French Government, the Fickleness and Instability of their Resolutions, their easie Credulity in being more than once deluded by the same fair Pretences and specious Promises, and the wonderful Defeat of all their Designs, should methinks make the Application Obvious enough to the most Bigotted Enemy of our present Settlement, But perhaps this Obstinate Sect will be as regardless of the Examples drawn from History, as they have hitherto been of all the Arguments

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ments that have been urg'd from Reason, to Convince them of their Error : However, let them consult their own Experience, and that may sufficiently inform them, that Providence seldom (I might say, never) fails even at the last Critical Instant, to rescue an Establish'd and well Administred Government from the Tyrannical Toke of a Foreign Invader, or a Rebellious Subject. They might likewise for their farther discouragement remember what a constant Series of ill Success has attended all their Projects ; that their Plots have been still disappointed, their most Cunning Designs unravell'd ; and that after their incessant and restless Endeavours for almost Four Tears, Their Majesties Sacred Persons are yet safe, and their Government stands secure. So that unless this discontented Party continue under the same change, Infatuation that hath so long possess'd them, they must certainly now despair of ever seeing Popery and Arbitrary Power again Triumphant in England. And this, if any thing, will perhaps induce

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induce them out of a tender regard to their own safety to desist from their unnatural Conspiracies and Barbarous Attempts against the Religion and Liberties of their Native Countrey: Which the Providence of God hath fix'd on so firm a Basis, that, I doubt not but, the final Consequence of all their Malicious Projects, how subtilly soever they may be contriv'd and carri'd on, will be the destruction of their Cause, and their own unpitied Ruine.

H. Hare.

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A
RELATION
OF THE
Conspiracy
OF
John Lewis Count de Fieschi.

IT pleased the Divine Providence
to grant to the Republick of Ge-
nova, a respite from the Miseries
under which they had lately
Groaned: For the Citizens being wea-
red out as well by their Civil Dissenti-
ons, as by the Oppression of a Foreign
Power, were at last made sensible by
these their Misfortunes, how necessary
B it

it was for them to Agree. They presently found the good effects of a settled Government, every Man's private Stock daily encreasing even beyond expectation, when instead of misapplying their Industry, and weakening their Strength, he somenting different Factions, they wisely studied to improve their own Estates; and when that Money which was before consumed in providing for an Army, and in feeding the insatiable Lusts of the Foreign Governors, was far better employed in Traffick and Merchandice. This Happiness the Republick enjoyed when, of a suddain, there happened a most unfortunate accident, which had like to have deprived the *Genoueses*, of the Liberty they had so lately regained, by the intended Subversion of the Established Government: I mean the horrid Conspiracy of *John Lewis Count de Fieschi*, the Original whereof is so necessary to be known, that I shall derive it from its first Source.

During the heat of those never to be forgotten Wars in *Italy* between

the Emperor *Charles* the 5th. and *Francis* the first King of *France*; *Andrew Doria*, a General very Famous both for Courage and Skill in Maritime Affairs, fought under the *French* Colours; his conduct wonderfully kept up the Reputation and promoted the Interests of that Crown: While at the same time that he faithfully discharged the Trust reposed in him he took a severe Revenge of the *Spaniards*, for those Cruelties they exercised at the sacking of *Genova* in the Year 1522.

But Princes are very often so fatally unhappy as to disesteem their bravest Subjects, while they are ready and willing to serve them with Faithfulness and Diligence. Thus did *Francis* the first, who by these indiscreet Methods exasperated the mind of *Andrew Doria*, though he was at that time so absolutely necessary to the carrying on the *French* Designs. The Pay assigned him, was not returned to him; *Philibert de Chalons* Prince of *Orange*, whom *Doria* had made a Prisoner of War, was set at Liberty by King *Francis*.

without paying the Ransom due to *Doria*; the King did likewise with great importunity, and (when that was denied) with high words, demand the *Marquis del Vasto*, and *Ascanio Colonna*, who had been taken in Battle by *Philippin Doria* Vice-Admiral, and *Andrew*. But that which afflicted the good old Man far beyond the Considerations of his own private Interest was to find that the King wou'd not perform those his Promises, which regarded the profit and the reputation of the Republick of *Genoua*; whereof this was an eminent Instance. The City of *Savona* having transferr'd the Obedience from the Republick of *Genoua* to the Crown of *France*, propos'd to themselves great advantage from the Conveniency of their Haven, which brought them in a vast profit, to the irreparable damage of the Trade of *Genoua*. This *Andrew Doria* frequently complain'd of, to the King, earnestly desiring, that as a recompence for his past Services, His Majesty wou'd restore to the Republick

that which by all the Rules of Justice entirely belonged to her. The King was so well satisfied of the reasonableness of this Petition, that he promised it shou'd be granted: But when he had balanc'd in his Mind on the one side the Obligations he was under to be Just to his Word, and on the other side the hopes of improving his Interest, he resolved (contrary to his promises,) to keep the City in his possession. He had found by experience how unstable the *Genoveses* were in their Resolutions, and how little he cou'd rely upon the assistance of the Republick for the advancing the Interests of his Crown in *Italy*. For the City of *Genoa*, being sometimes oppressed by a faction of the Nobility, and sometimes subjected to the Caprices of the giddy Mob, did, without due consideration, alter the Form of its Government according to the Temper of the prevailing Party. Therefore the King thinking it so necessary for the furtherance of his designs in *Lombardy*, to have at his command a convenient

Port, he made choice of *Savona*, and gave the charge of it to Monseigneur *de Montmorancy*. By this stratagem the King assured himself, that he had both put a check to the inconstancy of the *Genoueses*, and made his own undertakings more easie to be accomplished: For the City of *Savona* lying near to *Piedmont*, *Montferrat* and *Lombardy*, was by its situation no less proper for War, than for Commerce; which gave the *Genoueses* occasion to fear, that its increase in Wealth and Reputation wou'd in a few Years spoil the Traffick of the Port of *Genova*, and thereby enable *Savona* to claim an equal share with them in the Dominion of the adjacent Seas. All these matters had been frequently represented to the King, but without any good effect, so that at last *Doria* was necessitated out of his sincere Love to his Country to abandon the *French Interests*. He being now thoroughly exasperated by the many Contempts before related, grew every day less and less exact in the furthering the King's designs.

signs; and it happening luckily about this time, (1528,) that the City of Naples was besieged by the French under the Command of *Lantrach* Vice-Roy of Milan, *Philippin Doria* in pursuance of the directions given him by *Andrew*, did by his voluntary negligence suffer the French King's Affairs to receive an irreparable damage. For he, who but a little before had with incredible Valor, obtained a remarkable Victory over the Emperor's Fleet in the Gulph of *Salernum*, (in which Fight the Imperialists lost *Don Hugh de Moncada* Vice-Roy of Sicily, their Admiral,) was now pleased to permit, without any opposition, some small Vessels laden with Provisions, to sail by his Fleet into Naples: And this Relief coming so seasonably to the Besieged, proved the ruin of this Enterprize. As soon as Pope *Clement* the Seventh had received notice that *Doria* began to fall off from the Interests of France, he dispatch'd orders to Cardinal *Salviati* his Nuncio in that Court, to represent to the King, how necessa-

ry it was for him by just and satisfactory Concessions, to regain to the service of his Crown a Person of so approved Courage and Skill in Maritime Affairs ; since it was highly probable, that *Doria*, if he were thoroughly exasperated, would shelter himself, and the Interests of the Republick, under the Emperor's Protection ; which cou'd not fail to defeat the Expectations the *French* then had of the Conquest of *Naples*. At the same time that these friendly intimations were posted away to the Court of *France*, the Pope dispatch'd *Sanga* his Secretary to Cajole *Doria* into his Service, with the offer of a large Pension. The Court of *Rome* was at that time justly apprehensive, that *Doria's* Interest and Reputation might probably over-balance the Affairs of *Italy* to the advantage of the Emperor, if he shou'd be induced to comply with the honourable proposals offer'd him by his Imperial Majesty : Therefore that this foreseen accident might be effectually provided against, and not (as was falsely pretended)

tended) for any occasion the Pope then had of *Doria's* commanding his Fleet, this Crafty Embassy was resolved on as the most likely method to prevail. When this important affair came to be debated in the *French* King's Privy Council, some that were Enemies to *Doria* , took this occasion to represent him as a Person so excessively haughty in the exercise of his Authority, and so thoroughly disgusted at the King's Usage of him, that it wou'd be impossible ever to regain him to the *French* Interests ; therefore that a sudden stroke might frustrate those designs, which cou'd not without vast difficulties (if at all) be diverted by an amicable accommodation ; and that the Emperor might want so necessary an Assistant in this juncture of Affairs, it was thought advisable that *Doria* should be Assassinated. This advice was not rejected, but in pursuance of it, (as was generally reported,) necessary Instructions were privately given to Monsieur de *Barbezieux* who was then Sailing for *Italy* , with the
French

French Fleet, of which he had been created Admiral a little before. *Doria* in the mean time received private intelligence of these designs; and being thoroughly exasperated with so ungrateful and perfidious a return for his former Services, he immediately entred into a close correspondence with the *Marquess del Vasto* his Prisoner of War, by whom he offer'd his Service to the Emperor, which was very readily and kindly accepted. And now *Doria* made a publick Renunciation of his Friendship with the *French King*, by sending him back the Collar and the Instrument of his Admission to the Order of *St. Michael*.

The Articles that *Doria* made with the Emperor when he first entred into his Service, were such as the Republick might reasonably promise themselves from a sincere Patriot. He wholly neglected this advantageous occasion of increasing the Honours and Revenues of his Family, contenting himself that he had effectually secured the Liberty of *Genova*, and restored to them their Dominion

minion over *Savona*, by the Protection and Assistance of his Imperial Majesty. This Resolution of *Doria* so thoroughly awakened the *French* King out of the slumber into which the false Policy of his Ministers had cast him, that being desirous to repair his past negligence, by his present sedulity, he thought it advisable to endeavour to regain *Doria* to his Interests by honourable and advantageous Proposals: But the King's Repentance began so late that it proved absolutely fruitless. For *Doria* being now thoroughly bent upon the delivering his Country from the power of Foreigners, would not admit of any offers that might delay the execution of these his generous designs. Nevertheless the *French* King who had been so careless to keep in the friendship of *Doria*, became now so eagerly impatient to recover that without considering how great respect was due to a Crowned Head, he stoop'd so low as voluntarily to offer a full satisfaction in all those particulars, which *Doria* had often Petitioned for, and had been

as often denied: Nay, with so great indiscretion was this affair managed, that, by making these Proposals to *Doria*, before some other person had privately sounded his Intentions in it, the King exposed his Royal Dignity to the disgrace, and himself to the shame and vexation, of receiving a peremptory repulse. Accidents of this nature are often observed to happen in the Courts of Princes; who being puffed up with insolent thoughts of their own power, believe that their Fortune needs not the assistance of any one to establish or support it. And sometimes brave Men, who are constantly in the Camp, or at Court, miss of that esteem which is due to their Merits, and which is daily bestowed on far less deserving persons, if they have but the advantageous Character of being Foreigners: It being too Natural to Princes, as well as the rest of Mankind, to undervalue their present Enjoyments, and hanker after unexperienced Novelties, no less in the Publick, than in the Private, Circumstances of their Lives.

Doria

Doria having for these reasons, settled himself, and the Twelve Gallies under his Command, in the Emperor's Service, he presently applied his Mind to the deliverance of his Country from the Dominion of *France*; for, like a true Patriot, the Liberty of his Country had always been the only Object of his Thoughts. The Republick was at this time overpowered by a Popular Faction, who under the pretence of the publick safety, fomented with Arms and Tumults the unwarrantable Passions of Private Families; not making a due difference between the Liberty of the Common-Wealth, and the Licentiousness of some of the Members of it. Hence it came to pass, that whenever any Faction found that their own Forces were too weak to defend them in their Irregularities, they reinforced themselves with Foreign Auxiliaries, and thereby brought into the City a new Model of Government. One while the Faction of the *Adorni* Expelled that of the *Fregosi*; a while after the *Fregosi* overpower'd the

the *Adorni*: Sometimes they gave themselves into the Protection of the Duke of *Milan*, then again they removed the Governors he sent them. Next they chose to be under the Government of the *French*, by and by they shook off that Yoke, and then were again willing to receive it. So that by the frequent change of Applications the dangerous wounds that had so long afflicted the Republick, (and that ought to have been once for all thoroughly healed by a general Concord,) were still kept open: All this *Doria* was sensible of, and therefore, that he might encourage the good intentions of those persons who joined with him in their earnest Wishes for the Publick Safety, he approach'd with his Gallies near the City of *Genova*.

Nor was a prosperous success wanting to these his generous designs. For many of the Citizens, being thoroughly wearied out with the Calamities of their past Dissentions, and being afflicted with the Plague, returned to more sober Thoughts, and heartily
Prayed

Prayed for a safe and lasting Concord. At this time the City was Governed in the French King's Name by Monsieur *Theodore de Tivulce*, a person whose signal behaviour in those Martial Employments wherewith he had been intrusted, had acquired him the Character of a Prudent as well as a Courageous Commander. Nevertheless his Conduct was at this time such as was greatly wondred at by those that knew him, and the rather because it did not seem to answer those former Actions by which he had so deservedly establish'd his Reputation. For although he very well knew that the discourse and the designs of the *Genoveses* tended strongly to a mutual agreement among themselves; yet he was very negligent in the thwarting these their Inclinations: Either because he thought, the end of it wou'd only be a Reconciliation of the private Animosities between the Families of the Nobility and of the Commonalty: Or because, he cou'd hardly think it possible that the Government of *Genova*, which was put in the

French

French King's Hands meerly by their intestine divisions, cou'd be taken from him by the united strength of the Citizens ; he presumptuously conceited that to be much too weak to resist the King's Forces, when headed by so Valiant a Leader as himself. *Doria* finding the Citizens so well disposed, and being throughly apprehensive of the vast Advantages so unexpectedly given him by *Monsieur de Trivulce's* oversight, immediately applied himself to the bringing this his Enterprize to a conclusion ; which succeeded so well, that without the shedding of any blood he took the City, and drave out of it the *French* Garrison. The *Genoueses* received him with all the marks of an incredible Joy, and many of them persuaded him to accept of the Principality of *Liguria*, now that Fortune had so kindly offered it him : But he generously refused it, his Mind being far above the dazzling splendor of a Crown. The next thing he did was to exhort the Citizens in a well weighed Speech, (fitly becoming the Father of

of his Country,) to repent of their
 past Errors, to know their true Inter-
 est, and for the future to maintain
 their Liberty, (which he now freely
 presented to them,) by laying aside all
 those Dissentions, which had for so ma-
 ny Years kept their Country in conti-
 nual Miseries. The City being thus
 restor'd to its Ancient Liberty, it
 prov'd no difficult matter for them,
 either to gain the Castle, into which
 Monsieur *de Trivulce* presently retreat-
 ed, or by force of Arms to Conquer
Savona : As a punishment of whose
 Rebellion, its Harbour was made use-
 less, Two Vessels of the largest size be-
 ing sunk just at the mouth of it to
 choak the passage. The City of *Ge-
 noua* being thus vastly oblig'd to *Doria*
 for so many signal Kindnesses to them,
 they were desirous to give effectual de-
 monstrations of their Real Gratitude
 to himself and his Family ; hereupon
 they granted to him and to his descen-
 dents very large and noble Privileges,
 and erected to his Immortal Memory
 a Statue of *Lunigian* Marble, in the
 C base

base whereof an Inscription was Engraven, which declar'd him to be the Author of the Publick Liberty. Then, for their better security, the *Genoveses*, with the advice of *Doria* their Deliverer, Constituted a Form of Government answerable to a Free State, under which their Ancient Splendor began to revive: And this renown'd Patriot having Atchiev'd many Glorious Enterprizes, and growing decrepit with the Infirmities of Old Age, retir'd from the hurry of the World to a pleasing Repose in his own Country, there enjoying in his own Mind the fruit of those Victories, and that Quiet, which he had been the happy Instrument of. He kept with him in his Family *Fannet in Doria*, the Son of *Thomas*, his Cousin-German: This *Fannet in* was a young Man of a very ready Wit, and of approv'd Courage; of which he had given so many signal demonstrations in those Employments which he manag'd under *Andrew*, that he was deservedly adopted for his Son, and by the Emperor's consent design'd

successor

succeed him in his supreme Command
 of the Maritime Affairs. Hence it
 came to pass that *Doria*, being highly
 esteem'd by all the Princes of *Europe*
 for his excellent Endowments, being
 reverenc'd by the *Genoueses* as their
 common Benefactor, and having gain-
 ed a large Stock both of Reputation
 and Wealth, his House was frequented
 more like the Palace of a Prince, than
 the Residence of a private Citizen.
 These things, (which I have here re-
 lated in as few words as the matter
 will allow,) were the true occasion of
 the Conspiracy so cunningly and deli-
 berately contrived by *John Lewis*
Count de Fieschi : And by this Me-
 morable Example all free Cities may
 perceive, how vastly prejudicial it is
 to their Publick Affairs, to advance
 any of their Members, (though ne-
 ver so Eminent for Vertue, Valour and
 Conduct,) to a great degree of Ho-
 nour, Riches, or Power, above their
 Fellow-Subjects : The necessity of pre-
 venting which dangers, induc'd the
Athenians wisely to Publish their Law of
Ostracism.

This happy settlement of the Publick Affairs of *Genova*, and of *Doria* private concerns, was much envied by Pope *Paul* the Third, (of the House of *Farnese*,) Successor to *Clement* the Seventh, (of the Family of *Medici*,) and by the King of *France*. For the City of *Genova* having thrown off the *French* Yoke, and being shelter'd under the Emperor's Protection, provid'd the occasion of very great hindrance to the *French* King in his designs upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, wherein the Pope was very desirous he shou'd be successful ; that the Emperor's Power, which was now grown Formidable to all *Europe*, might be a little check'd and that he might be reveng'd of the Emperor for his putting by one of the *Farneses* from the Acquisition of that Dutchy, in which transaction the Ambitious Self-Interested Pope shew'd himself very Zealous.

These considerations so exasperated both the Pope and the *French* King that they cou'd not endure that *Doria* the only Adviser and Promoter of

the

those Measures, shou'd be so safely fix'd
in an Honourable Repose, as to be on-
ly an unconcern'd Spectator of their
Misfortunes. Besides this, *Paul* the
Third had an Animosity against him
upon another account : And this made
the more lasting Impression upon his
Mind, because it was occasion'd by
some private Injuries which had mutu-
ally past between them ; the Original
whereof I think it necessary to relate,
as serving to my present purpose.

Imperial Doria, Bishop of * *Sagona*,
having by the kindness and as-
sistance of his Cousin *Andrew*,
got together a great Summ of
Money, he Purchas'd with it an Estate
in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which up-
on his Death-Bed he bequeath'd to *An-*
drew ; on this condition, That he
shou'd take care to Relieve the Necessi-
ties of some of his Relations who were
now in the World. But the Pope's Offi-
cers, pretending that the Inheritance
of this Estate was wholly devolv'd to
the Apostolick See by the Ancient Cu-
stoms of the Church, took possession

* A City in
the Isle of
Corfica.

of it immediately ; and executed their Commission with so much insolence and extortion, that they seem'd rather to be common High-way-men, than Collectors deputed to enter upon the Lands and receive the Rents. *Doria* represented to the Pope the ill usage he had suffer'd from his Officers, and made out his claim to the Estate; which, though it was not allowed by the Officers of the Pope's Exchequer, yet it proved an inducement to Cardinal *Alexander Farnese* the Pope's Nephew, to offer him civilly to resign his pretended interest in it, on condition he would receive it as his free gift. *Doria* being irritated with Scorn and Anger at the Cardinal's unseasonable Liberality, in giving him what was his own, (though the Cardinal's covetous temper did seldom permit him to be guilty even of that seeming Generosity) and thinking the usage he had met with to be directly contrary to the measures of Justice, as well as unpardonable affronts offer'd to a Person of his Rank, he resolv'd, notwithstanding the
 appa-

apparent dangers of such an Enterprize, to lay aside for a while his wonted respect to the Roman See, and the usual calmness of his Temper, that he might gain Satisfaction by those methods, which best become a Soldier, sensible of injuries and desirous to revenge them. Hereupon he imparted his Intentions to *Fannetin Doria* his Cousin, and gave him orders to seize the Pope's Galleys and bring them into the Port of *Genoua*, which was accordingly done. After he had detain'd them for some days, he released them of his own accord; being very well pleas'd to let the World see, that tho he wanted neither Power nor Courage to shew his resentments of the Indignities put upon him, yet he had so much respect for the head of the Church, as to restrain himself, (tho he had these great advantages) from taking a compleate Revenge. The most judicious Politicians commended *Doria's* Prudence in this Action for these two Reasons: First, that he did it at the instance of the *Genoueses*, upon whom

the Pope had taken reprizals in his own Territories, using them withall very ill, since the Seizure of his Gallies: And next (which they supposed the chief reason) that enjoying so high a Command, under the Emperor, he would not make use of his Princes Authority to revenge his own private Injuries; knowing better how to make the due distinction between Publick and Private concerns, whereby he prevented a Flame from bursting out, which though kindled at first upon a trifling Quarrel, might not perhaps have been extinguisht without much Bloodshed.

The Pope and the *French* King being thoroughly vext to find their Affairs both Publick and Private in so ill a Posture, appli'd their minds with the utmost intention, to cause such alterations in *Genoua*, as might give them a fair opportunity to open the Scene they had laid for the Execution of their Designs. The King had twice tho' very unsuccessfully, attempted by Arms to recover *Genoua*, wherein he first employ'd the Count *de St. Paul*, and then

then *Cæsar Fregose* : This alarm'd the *Genoueses* to stand upon their Guard with Vigour and Diligence, for the preservation of their Liberty, fully confiding that their City would victoriously repel the attacks of a Foreign Power, unless it should be betray'd by the intestine discord of the Citizens. However (it being beyond the reach of humane Wisdom to foresee all Accidents, or to discover Conspiracies so secretly laid, and cunningly carried on) Fortune, which was not yet entirely reconcil'd to the interests of *Genova*, offer'd her Enemies a prospect of unexpected success, by the methods I am now going to relate.

John Lewis de Fieschi a young Man of a Haughty and Turbulent Spirit, was about this time almost distracted with ambitious Thoughts, how he might advance his Title and Reputation. He descended from the noble Family of the Lords of the Territory of *Lavagna*, and as his Estate was large, so his Interest was very great, being attended by his Friends and Adherents, (who were substantial

stantial Men) and served in great Splendor by many of his own Vassals. Nevertheless he was not contented with these happy and honourable Circumstances, deriv'd to him by Inheritance from his Ancestors; but suffer'd himself to be carried away by the impetuous heat of his Youth, and the pernicious dictates of Ambition (the too common Seducer of noble Persons) to aspire at a height of Power and Dignity, no less dangerous to be obtain'd than difficult to be kept. Even from his very Childhood there was observ'd in several of his Actions a Fierceness and Arrogance hardly to be found in any of so tender an Age: From whence several considerate Persons were induced to suspect, that his riper Years might push him on to endeavour the Disturbance of his Country's Peace. These his natural inclinations (pernicious enough of themselves) grew more prevalent by an ill Education, that pestilent distemper which too often infects young Men beyond a possibility of cure. For altho *Paul Panja* a Man of Eminent Learn-

Learning and Vertue, was appointed to instruct him in the Liberal Arts, yet those with whom he most intimately convers'd, being very lewd and profligate Fellows, made it their endeavour to cherish and propagate, in the mind of the young Count, the wicked design of subverting the Republick, applauding these propos'd Enterprizes as worthy of the most noble and generous Spirits. To this new kindl'd and increasing Flame his Mother continually added a supply of Fuel: For being very Ambitious, and not having Discretion enough to foresee the dismal consequences of her Proceedings, she often excited her Son, who was of an aspiring Temper with sharp reproofs; as if by enjoying his own Estate and living upon it, he sunk into the despicable Character of a private Country Gentleman, and degenerated from the Reputation of his Ancestors, who always maintain'd a considerable interest both in their own Country and in the Courts of Foreign Princes. And that nothing might be wanting to force this falling

falling weight to the bottom of the precipice from whence he had slip't by his wild Ambition, his Friends advis'd to peruse diligently the life of *Nero*, the History of *Cataline's* Conspiracy, and *Nicholas Machiavell's* little Book, *Entitul'd the Prince* : By reading these Authors, his mind was by degrees tinctur'd with Cruelty, Perfidiousness, and a love so great to his private Interests, as to banish all Apprehensions of Divine and Humane Laws. These vices he first admir'd, and though the innate Sense of good and evil was sometimes so prevalent, as to suggest to him that he ought to detest and abhor such Practices as unworthy of a Man of Honour, yet at length yielding to his corrupt Inclinations, he excus'd them by the Actions of these great Men, recorded by Historians, and too much imitated by the most Politick Statesmen. So powerfully are the Actions of our lives influenc'd either to Vertue or Vice, and our wills insensibly chang'd by reading the Works of eloquent Authors; whose charming way
of

of Writing seldom fails to over-balance the sober Dictates of our own Reason, which rather ought to be our Guide.

These qualifications of the young Count were quickly found out by those who diligently watcht for all opportunities of raising their own Fortunes by the Ruin of *Genova*. Upon several accounts they thought him the most proper Instrument that cou'd be, to carry on this their important Design; and therefore they fail'd not very often to excite him to it, by proposing to him very great Honours and Advantages. The first who by the *French* King's Order held a correspondence with him to this end, where *Cæsar Fregose* and *Cagnino Conzaga*, as was discover'd not long after by some Papers, which fell into the hands of the Marquess *del Vasto*, Governour of *Milan* by the Emperors Commission. He being desirous by a provident Caution to prevent the Disorders which might hereby interrupt the Peace of *Italy*, acquainted *Doria* with his Suspicions: But the good old Man gave no credit to them, being over-
sway'd

sway'd by the Affection he bore to the
 Count, and by the Observations he had
 made of the indiscretion of altering his
 measures upon a bare conjecture. Af-
 terwards *William Bellay* the King's
 Principal Minister of State, manag'd
 this business by the assistance of *Peter
 Luke Fieschi*; and as the report went,
 the Pope was as zealous in it as the
 French King. For the Count having
 taken a journey to *Piacenza*, the Re-
 sidence of *Peter Lewis Farnese*, the
 Pope's Natural Son, who assum'd the
 Title of Duke of that State; he bought
 of him four Gallies at a moderate
 Price, on this exprefs Condition that
 the Count should receive out of the
 Pope's Exchequer a sufficient allowance
 for the Manning, Arming, and Main-
 taining of them. For the Ratifi-
 cation of this Bargain, the Count *de
 Fieschi* continu'd his Journey to *Rome*,
 where he was receiv'd by the Pope,
 with all the signs of an extraordinary
 love and an entire confidence; and ob-
 tain'd of him without any difficulty
 the encouragement he had so earnestly
 wish'd

wisht for. It was the conjecture of some Persons that the Story of the Count's buying the Gallies of the Duke of *Piacenza*, was invented to save the Pope's credit, he being unwilling to afford his assistance to *Fieschi's* enterprize in so publick a manner, as it must have been, had he declar'd that they were fitted out by his Order. I know that some Writers are very solicitous to acquit the Pope and his Son from the scandal of having stirr'd up the Count to so black a design against his Country, by the Testimony of *Apollo-nio* the Duke's Secretary and intimate Friend; who being kept Prisoner at *Milan*, and being put to the Torture to force from him a satisfactory answer to this Question propos'd by *Don Ferrante Gonzaga*, did even in the extremity of his Suffering, constantly deny that either the Duke or the Pope had any hand in *Fieschi's* Conspiracy. Nor do I think it worth my while to contradict them herein, but shall leave these conjectures on both sides to be sifted by those whose copious Writings may

may admit of a longer digression. This is beyond dispute, that the general Opinion at that time was that the Count's final resolutions were determined by the advice and encouragements he receiv'd from *Rome*: And the Emperors Ministers of State thought it was so manifest, that when the Pope sent *Camillo Urfino* to the Emperor, after the Duke's death, to desire the restitution of *Piacenza*, they very freely and sharply reproacht his Master the Pope, with the favouring and forwarding so infamous a design. That this was likewise the Opinion of *Andrew Doria*, may appear by the following Circumstance. The Pope sent him a Letter of Condoleance
f Janu. 2. 1547. upon the *f* death of his Cousin *Jannetin*, to which he return'd no answer, slighting it as a piece of ill tim'd Ceremony: But a while after
** Sep. 28. 1547.* when the Duke of *Piacenza* was ^{*} killed by several Conspirators, *Doria* took the Pope's Letter, and having alter'd some expressions in it as he thought necessary,

This necessary, he sent it back to the Pope by
 way of Condoleance for the Duke's
 Death. Besides this, it is most certain
 that while the Count *de Fieschi* staid in
 Rome, the *French* King's Ministers did
 again sollicite him to put those designs
 in Execution, to which they perceiv'd
 him very much inclin'd. To this end
 Cardinal *Augustine Trivulce* Protector of
 the Affairs of *France*, being sensible
 how much diligence had been used by
 the other Ministers of that Crown,
 and particularly a little before by *Pe-
 ter Strozzi* when he pass'd over the *Alpes*
 with his Army into *Piedmont*) resol-
 ved not to be behind any of them, in
 manifesting his zeal for the King's In-
 terests. Therefore he fixt a time for
 meeting the Count, and knowing him
 to be excessively ambitious of Fame
 and Glory, he appli'd himself to him
 in this manner.

Were Fortune propitious to your
 vertue (most noble Youth) I should
 then have just occasion to rejoice with
 you, whom I should now behold exal-
 ted far above that middle State of life

D

enjoyed

enjoy'd by trading Citizens. But since the Iniquity of the times denies you a reward fuitable to your Merit, I desire you kindly to accept my affection, by which I Sympathize with you in your Misfortunes, and from my heart wish you (as all good Men do) a concurrence of more happy Events. Your Birth is so noble, and your Endowments are so Rare, that the general voice of the World calls you to a higher Station, that you may be the better able to promote their common good. Among the rest of your Admirers, I, who upon the account of my Employments have a nearer view of Publick Transactions, do heartily wish to see your Valour display'd to the eyes of *Europe*, on a Theatre more stately than that whereon you now so well act your part. You were born in such an unhappy juncture of time, that the present constitution of your own Country makes it unlawful and dangerous for you to aspire to any very eminent Dignity; for the *Genoueses* having disclaimed their Obedience to the King of
France

France, and brought all to a common equality, will by no means permit you to enjoy any Character above the ordinary level of a Citizen. Besides this, *Andrew Doria* and his Cousin *Jannetin*, under the specious pretence of restoring to *Genoua* its ancient Liberty, have so firmly established their own Power, that the most universal Concord of the *Genoueses* consists in their being willing to enslave themselves to the Arbitrary commands of that Family. Thus by a servile Subjection to the Tyranny of two private Persons, do this foolish People sufficiently punish themselves, for having rashly executed their blind Resolution of withdrawing themselves from the Protection of a most powerful Prince. These *Doria's* being thus Bolster'd up by the assistance of the Emperor's Army, (to whose affairs the late turn in *Genoua* has been very advantageous) and growing more formidable by their numerous Fleet which almost fills the Port, you may be sure will never permit any noble and resolute mind to exert its self: For if any

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of the Citizens should give Proofs of a remarkable Courage, they would presently be jealous of it, fearing least it should portend danger to the increasing Fortune of their Family; and would under the pretence of securing the publick Safety, abuse those ambitious Titles granted to *Andrew*, of Fathers of their Country, and Restorers of its lost Freedom to the oppression of Persons more Valiant and Deserving than themselves. Hence it is that any so well Born and Accomplisht as yourself, cannot fail while their Power is so great to be continually disturb'd with Injuries, besides the danger that their lives are daily expos'd to. 'Tis true, none of the Disorders I have hinted at have hitherto appear'd; but the reason of that is to be ascrib'd partly to the distrust, the *Doria's* have of their new gotten and yet unsettled Power, and in a great measure to the moderation of *Andrew*, who curbs *Jannetin* in his rash and ill advis'd Designs. Can you think that this Young Man, whose haughty Temper, and impetuous Passions,

sions, know no limits, will be hindr'd by any consideration of the unlawfulness of the Action, from executing those designs his Fancy may prompt him to? Since he finds himself guarded by Soldiers whom he can trust, and is upon the account of the important office he bears, every day address'd to with vast respect by the young Nobility of the City? Can you think that so high a Spirit will suffer it self to be confin'd within the bounds of a reasonable Power? Or that his thirst of Empire, which encreases daily by the near view he has of it, will be satisfi'd without the Blood of many innocent Persons? Can you think that that addition of Honour and Authority which Fortune partial in his Favour, and the *Genoueses* blinded with an excessive love to *Andrew* have fixt upon him, will content him? Or can you believe that he does not aspire after the acquisition of a more pompous Title, than that of *Jannetin Doria*? As for my part, I cannot give credit to a supposition so improbable. For he has not Moderation

enough, either to know how, or to be willing to give a check to so fierce a torrent of extraordinary Felicity. These his Projects are for a while retarded (as far as I can guess) by his expectation of *Andrew's* Death, which cannot be very far off; and then you will see him assume to himself an absolute Power: Altho' by so villainous an Invasion he casts indelible stain on all the benefits done by *Andrew* to his Country. To this end being already possess'd of the hearts of the Nobility and the Populace, he encourages the one in Idleness and Luxury, and takes care to give the other full employment by the profits of Merchandise, that being distant from any bold Enterprizes; nay, even to the handling their Weapons, neither of them may dare to make any Opposition to his Designs. Thus under the appearance of a settled Peace, he cunningly conceals his intended Parricide. But supposing that the Divine Providence (which has hitherto preserv'd the Republick) should cut off all possibility of his succeeding in these his attempts:

How

How great a reproach to their Birth
ought the rest of the Citizens who de-
scend from as noble a Parentage, to
think it, that *Jannetin Doria* their equal,
continues in the secure enjoyment of a
Power and Dignity so far above theirs?
What colour of Reason can be alledg'd
for it, that in a Free State (where so
many no ways inferior to him, either
for Birth or Valour, are contented to
live privately) he only should keep up
the magnificent Port of a Sovereign
Prince, treating the rest of the Nobili-
ty as if they depended upon him like
his Menial Servants? By what Law of
any well constituted Republick? By
what custom of any Nation not alto-
gether Barbarous? In what History of
any civiliz'd People is such a Prece-
dent to be met with? And if you have
not hitherto been sensible of the con-
temptuous behaviour of this insolent
Man towards your own Person, it must
rather be ascrib'd to the inadvertency
of your tender Years, than to *Janne-*
tin's Affability.

However, you will be greatly deceiv'd, if hereafter you expect to be exempted from the common Miseries that attend your Country. You must believe me, Sir, you must join with others of the Nobility, in offering him your Attendance and your Service. And *Jannetin* may then reckon it among the chief Trophies of his insufferable Arrogance, that he is caress'd, reverenc'd, and humbly bow'd to by *John Lewis de Fieschi*, Count of *Lavagna*, the Proprietor of a large and well peopled Territory. How much more eligible therefore would it be for you to awaken your mind to such Resolutions as are worthy of your Country, your Family, and your own Personal Endowments? And immediately to apply your utmost endeavours to free your self and your Country-Men from so sordid an Infamy? Perhaps you may object, that tho' you should be willing to undertake this Enterprize, yet you want a sufficient force and seasonable Opportunities to bring it to perfection. But I hope these difficulties will be

be clear'd, when I assure you that before your departure from *Rome*, you shall receive all necessary Instructions and Succors for the furthering this Design; in which, when it is ripe for Execution, I am impower'd by my Master the King of *France* to promise you the assistance of his Forces. You will likewise find these further encouragements even in *Genoua* it self. The Populace (urg'd by their irreconcilable hatred to the Nobility,) will not only be as a Sword to fight for you, but as a Shield to defend you. *Jannetins*'s prosperous Fortune will enchant him to so great a degree of Stupidity, that he will fall an easie Prey to your Artifices. Your own Subjects and those of the Duke of *Piacenza* will be powerful enough to guard you from the attacks of any that shall dare to oppose you. In a word, all things invite you to a certain Victory: Nothing is now wanting but your own final Resolution, not to Fight, but to Conquer and Triumph. Therefore consider well the necessity that lies upon you,
 either

either to be a Prince or a Slave, either to make your self formidable to your Enemies, or to live under continual apprehensions of their Malice.

Cardinal *Trivulce* could not have toucht *Fieschi's* Soul in a more sensible part: For his envy was excited to so high a degree by this representation of *Doria's* Grandeur, that he lookt upon it as a continual Reproach to himself; as if he were inferior to *Fannetin* in any sort of Accomplishments. Thus *Fieschi's* inclinations being so strongly dispos'd towards this desperate Design, it was no difficult matter for the Cardinal to kindle the Flame, when he made use of so proper an incentive, as fallacious Arguments eloquently express'd. And the Count hereupon grew very desirous to know what Proposals the King had empower'd Cardinal *Trivulce* to offer him; and when the Cardinal had accordingly inform'd him, he thought the Conditions were too valuable to be despis'd. The Particulars of them are as follow.

That

That he should forthwith enter into the King's Pay, and receive a sufficient Allowance for the Maintenance of six Gallies. That there should be secured to him the full Pay for 200 Men to be put in Garrison in the Castle of *Montobbio*. That he should be declared Captain of the Horse, and that 12000 Crowns a year should be assigned him for his own Allowance. These Articles were quickly after ratif'd on the King's part at a little distance from *Naples*, by *John Caracciolo* Prince of *Melfi*; *Fieschi* nevertheless deferr'd his final Resolution in this matter, till his return to *Genova*; having satisfi'd the Cardinal both by the Alteration of his Countenance, and by some Words that dropt from him, after this Interview that he would follow the Measures directed by the Crown of *France*. This his delay it is thought proceeded from one of these Reasons, either because he was not yet fully satisfied in his mind of the justice or the feasibility of this attempt; or because he desir'd to have leisure for a free Conference with his friends,

friends by whose advice he might the better know what Methods to follow in the design he had undertaken. When he came to *Genova*, he made it his Business to observe *Fannetin's* conduct with more than usual Diligence: For altho' the spendor of the *Doria's* Family was principally deriv'd from *Andrew*, yet it being too generally the Practice of the World to worship the rising Sun, the Citizens of *Genova* follow'd that Maxim, and paid their Court to *Fannetin*, as the chief object of their hopes. *Fannetin's* Temper was naturally haughty, which added to his Military Education, and the respect that was paid him as the Commander of 20 Gallies, and as design'd by the Emperor to be his Uncle's Successor in the office of Admiral, increas'd his Pride to a high degree. He was likewise so far exalted in his own Opinion, upon the account of some signal Proofs he had given of his Valour, that his Spirit seem'd to aim at a higher Condition, than the equality of the Subjects of a Free State could allow of. This made him neglect

neglect to gain by affability the affections of those Persons whom he thought would be oblig'd to adhere to him for the sake of their own Interest; seeming to think himself safer and greater in a vain ostentation of his Power, than in being really belov'd and esteem'd by his Country. For these causes he was hated by the popular Faction: But the young Nobility who attended him, had a greater regard to the profitable Employments they hoped to receive from him, than to the imperious manner in which he behav'd himself towards all. Sometimes he treated the Count *Fieschi* with haughty and arrogant Language; at which he was so exasperated, that instead of endeavouring to gain his Friendship by the servile Submissions then generally practis'd, he rather wanted Caution and Temper to hide his Resentments; but gave him plainly enough to understand by his deportment, how little he car'd to see him.

And that *Fannetin* might want no Demonstrations, that *Fieschi* resolv'd
to

to have no dependance on him, even in the maritime concerns, which made him so much respected, he bought of the Duke of *Piacenza* the 4 Gallies, (as I before related) to the infinite dissatisfaction of *Jannetin*. In the meantime Cardinal *Trivulce* fearing least if he shou'd abate of his former Diligence, his hopes of fixing *Fieschi* in the *French* Interests might be disappointed, and well knowing that in all Resolutions of importance, Young Men must be brought to a Determination while their Temper and Fancy are warm with the Project, to prevent any Luke-warmness which serious thoughts might suggest; he dispatcht *Nicholas Foderato*, a Gentleman of *Savona*, one of the Count's Relations, to him at *Genova*. This Person by frequently representing the Cardinal's Demands, and vastly magnifying his Promises, at last brought the Count to an expresse Declaration that he wou'd assist the *French* Forces in reducing the Republick to its former subjection; on condition that the King wou'd fully make good the offers that
had

had been formerly propos'd to him to encrease his Grandeur and enlarge his Power. Hereupon *Foderato* rid Post for *Rome*, to get the Capitulation ratified by the subscriptions of those Ministers, whom the King had Authoriz'd for that purpose: As soon as *Foderato* had begun his Journey, Count *Fieschi* imparted the whole Affair, to some few of his Confidants, and having ask'd their Advice concerning it, they very freely blam'd him, not for the design it self, but for the Methods he intended to take for the putting it in Execution.

For this reason he sent in all hast to recall *Foderato*; from whom having receiv'd the Packet of Letters, and dispatches he had entrusted him withall, he propos'd in a few words his Intentions to be deliberately canvass'd by his Friends. The Persons whom he thought worthy to be of this private Consult, were these three: *Vincenzio Calcagno* of *Varese*, a Servant entirely faithful to Count *Fieschi*, who sincerely endeavour'd to preserve his Master's

Master's Life and Honour: *Raphael Saeco* a Lawyer of *Savona*, whom *Fieschi* made use of as the Judge and Auditor of the concerns of his Territory: And *John Baptist Verrina* a Citizen of *Genoa*: *Verrina* having the advantage of living very near *Fieschi's* Palace, he by degrees insinuated himself into the Count's Familiarity, cunningly pretending a great zeal for his Interests that he might by *Fieschi's* assistance prop up his own decaying Fortunes; and herein the sly Hypocrite succeeded so well, that he soon gain'd the Ascendant over him, having engag'd him to lend him several Summs of Money, and (which is far more considerable) to communicate to him his most important Secrets.

His Ambition was large, and prompted him to form great Designs; for the effecting whereof, his natural Ingenuity never fail'd to suggest to him, the likeliest Methods: His inveterate hatred to the Nobility, proceeded partly from the resentment of private Injuries, and partly from a Factionous dislike
of

of the present Constitution; wherein, by *Andrew Doria's* Advice, the Nobility were restor'd to the Administration of Affairs which they had formerly enjoyed, and from which they had been so long unjustly excluded. This frustrated *Verrina's* Expectations, of having any share in the management of the Government: Which, together with the uneasie consideration of approaching Poverty; (his Debts every day increasing, and his Estate decaying,) prov'd an irresistible incitement to him (his mind being exasperated with the disappointment of Honour and Wealth) as it generally does to Persons involv'd in the like Difficulties, desperately to engage in this rash Design; hoping it might give him some prospect of being deliver'd from the inconveniences of his present Circumstances, and of being reinstated in that happiness and those advantages, which his disturbing Memory told him he formerly possess'd.

Thus *Verrina* being sensible, that he would no longer conceal his Misfortunes,
 E while

while the Publick Tranquility lasted, made it his endeavour to bury the remembrance of them under the ruin of his native Country. For if the design'd Villainy prov'd successful, he assur'd himself, that his Circumstances wou'd be every way vastly improv'd; but if it should not (as was a very great hazard) he buoy'd up his mind against all ominous fears of future Calamities, with the prospect he had that his name should live, tho' under a Character remarkably infamous; for daring to be crush'd under the weight of so bold an attempt, and to expose himself to a destruction almost certain, for the gratifying his Revenge, by involving his Enemies under the same fate. So stupid and heedless are Men animated with Ambition, that, tho' it is their chief aim to advance and eternize their Reputation, yet it is equal to them by what Methods they acquire it, whether by the noble pursuits of Vertue, or the mean and inglorious Practices of Vice. — But *Calcagno* was a Man of very solid and mature Judgment; and having

having been long accusom'd to the delights and the plenty of a wealthy Family, abhorr'd the very thoughts of those Dangers into which he foresaw the Count wou'd precipitate himself: But, besides this, he acted upon the generous Principles of Sincerity and Gratitude: For having been bred up in the *Fieschi's* Family from his Infancy, he had a real affection for the Count's Person, without any selfish regard to the advantages he might reap from his Estate; whereby those who have distinct Interests of their own to pursue are (too generally) influenc'd to expose their Patrons to the utmost hazards, that they may accomplish their covetous Designs. — *Sacco* perceiving that the prosecution of this affair wou'd be liable to great Hazards, stood Neuter, that he might have the better opportunity to declare his Sentiments in favour of those measures that *Fieschi* should resolve to follow. The Count imparted his mind to them, in a short but very pathetick Speech: Telling them that he was positively resolv'd to

endeavour some considerable Alteration in the present Constitution of *Genova*, and that he therefore desir'd them to give their Opinions what Methods would be the likeliest to accomplish it. Nevertheless *Calcagno*, whose cordial Affection to his Patron, and many years Domestick dependance on him had inspir'd him with the greater confidence, took the freedom to speak to him to this purpose,

If (Sir) you are so unalterably resolv'd to proceed in your attempts against the Government of *Genova*, as your expressions seem to declare to us; it will then be in vain for me to think that my contradicting you in it can produce any good Effect, or prevent those common Calamities which I heartily deplore: But if the dictates of Prudence, and your good *Genius* can induce you to admit of second thoughts (which usually are the wisest and the safest) I shall on this occasion give you as great a proof of my Fidelity, by my freedom in speaking, as I have done all the rest of my life by my diligence

and industrious management of your concerns. You have hitherto enjoyed a constant course of Felicity; Fortune hath never yet made you the object of her frowns: Hence it comes to pass that your mind is not accusom'd to entertain any impressions but what represent all your designs crown'd with Victory, your Dignity advanc'd, and your Dominions enlarg'd. These (Sir) are generally the Dreams of those who have long been the Favourites of Fortune. But I am very apprehensive that some cross accident will dissipate these pleasing Shadows, and then your disappointment will be much more grievous to you, because you did not in the least foresee or expect it. To effect an alteration of the Government of the Republick, is at this time a work liable to so many difficulties, and expos'd to so evident dangers, that shou'd I represent it to you safe and easie, I shou'd offer the greatest violence to my own Reason. For you can propose to your self but these two Methods to accomplish your design; either to make

use of a Foreign Force, or to prevail by a secret correspondence with some of the Citizens : As for the former, I do not yet see any Preparations made towards it ; and if there were, 'tis impossible that an Army can March either so fast or so privately, but that it must give an Alarm to the Emperor, to *Doria*, and to the *Genoueses*. All *Italy* is at this time to our great Misfortune in such a Ferment, that the eyes of *Europe* are vigilant in watching our Motions ; and *Genoua*, being the only Maritime Frontier of this Province, as you know suspected, and therefore strongly guarded and jealously observ'd. And since the Dutchy of *Milan* is already become the Seat of the War, and is destin'd to be at last a Prey either to the *Italians* or the *French* Forces, you must needs think that, in common Policy the Emperor will take the greater care of *Genoua*, which he esteems as the main Bulwark of his Power in *Italy* : *Doria* will herein, attend him not only with his twenty Gallies, but also (which is much more

considerable) with the sincere affection of the Citizens (whom he has so much befriended) and with the assistance of the whole Fleet bound for the *Levant*, which is entirely devoted to his Service. The City of *Genova* is now so exasperated at the Tyrannical proceedings of the Dukes of *Milan* and the *French* Kings, that the very mention of a Foreign Force is become odious and detestable to them. Therefore unless your Army is very numerous, you can only discover your Intentions, but never bring them to any effect; and that you may be sensible how irreparable a damage this would prove to you, you must consider that nothing but a conclusion unexpectedly successful can ever obtain applause, or even, justify an undertaking of this Nature. And how or from whom you can expect to be suppli'd with such an Army I cannot imagine; for supposing that the *French* King (on whose Protection you so much rely) is desirous to raise new Tumults in *Italy*, yet his own pretensions to the Kingdom of *Naples* and the

Dutchy of *Milan*, will keep the best part of his Army (whose present Business is to secure their own Frontiers) so fully employ'd, that the Auxiliaries he sends you, must be very few and inconsiderable. Or if I could so far impose on my own Reason, as to believe that either he or any other Potentate would supply you with Forces proportionable to your design, yet ev'n then you must expect to be oppos'd with perhaps a greater, to be sure an equal force, by his Imperial Majesty who has taken the *Genoueses* into his Protection. So that at last your Happiness or Misery will entirely depend on so great a hazard, as the uncertain event of a Battel: And whether it goes against or for you, you must be contented to accept of such Terms as the Conqueror shall Prescribe, and the only reward firmly entail'd on you will be the indelible infamy, of having ungratefully robb'd your Country of her Liberty, and put her under the Yoke of a Barbarous Enemy. Perhaps you may expect to receive a nearer and speedier assistance from

from those Citizens who are of your Faction ; but I am sure if I am at all acquainted with the Temper and Inclinations of the *Genoueses*, you build your hopes on a very crazie and tottering Foundation. From which order of them, pray, Sir, is it that you expect these Succors? Is it from the Nobility ; These you know are already of *Doria's* Party, to whom they are engag'd by many Obligations, and to whom they owe their share in the Administration of the Government, and the happiness of an honourable Peace: And how can you think that they, who run the risk of worsting their Fortunes by every slight alteration, should now, out of Complaisance to you, help forward a turbulent Revolution, which must precipitate them into greater and more inextricable difficulties than they have yet been involv'd in? Will they to comply with your Ambition forget all the Obligations they lie under to their Country, their Liberty, their Families and their Estates? Can you believe that they will preferr your Friendship

ship, before *Doria's* Protection, whom on many accounts both Private and Publick they have for a long time reverenc'd as their Father? Nor can you reasonably suppose that the inclinations of the Populace are a whit more favourable to your designs; for how much the greater their Aversion is to the very name of the Nobility, so much the less (you may be sure) will they trust you, who being the chief of them, make it your endeavour to destroy your own order, without a reasonable pretence or Provocation. And if some few of the Mob should give credit to your Proposals, their Leaders will never sink their own Reputation so low as to accept of a Deliverance obtained for them by you. If your design be to set up your self as Prince or absolute Governour of *Genova*, what Action can be less agreeable to the Populace than this? What can be farther from meriting a general Applause? But perhaps you will tell me, your intentions are only to re-establish the Ancient Democratick Constitution, which *Genova* enjoy'd

enjoy'd till *Doria* subverted it by force
 of Arms; and such a Declaration as
 this you think will so charm the Com-
 monalty, that they will presently take
 up Arms in your Favour. For my part
 I am so far from obstinately maintain-
 ing the contrary Opinion, that I verily
 believe, those who are dissatisfied at
 the present State of Affairs, will gree-
 dily embrace so fair an occasion of act-
 ing over again their former Tragedies.
 The more readiness and vigour they ex-
 ert in Prosecuting this Cause, so much
 the more do they advance their own
 Interest, and this consideration will
 not suffer them to be Idle; but you
 will find when the Spoils come to be
 divided, your share will only be the in-
 famy of having begun the Insurrecti-
 on; unless you can be so credulous as
 to suppose that the Families of the *A-*
dorni and the *Fregosi*, will resign to a
 Nobleman that Power and Pre-emi-
 nence, in the management of the De-
 mocracy, for which they have for so
 many years had mutual contests. They
 will give to your Rashness the honour-
 able

able Character of Valour; they will follow your Standards, because they shall be thereby free'd from their Subjection; they will rejoyce to see the Nobility pull'd down by a Nobleman; to see the Bowels of your Native Country pierc'd by your Weapons; the Publick Tranquillity disturb'd by your Madnes; and their own Tyranny once more set up by your folly: And while they preserve in a great measure their Reputation from being tainted with the infamy of promoting your wicked designs, (Pardon me, Sir, that I am so free as to call every thing by its true name) they will only wait at a due distance till the times invite them to share with you in the reward of your Labours, the glory of your Boldness, and the Triumphs of your Victory. And how deplorable would your circumstances then be? Or to what Party could you without shame and blushes apply your self? The Nobility will hate you for betraying them: The populace will deride you, and laugh at those Policies, whereby they only reap
 so

so great advantages; your Country will
 detest you for having been the occasion
 of the loss of her Liberty: The Empe-
 rour who has taken the Republick into
 his Protection, will be your declar'd Ene-
 my: Nor can you with a secure confi-
 dence rely on the Friendship of the
French King, who has himself aim'd at
 an absolute command over *Genova*. In
 a word, you will be odious to the
 whole World; for all Mankind do on
 very reasonable grounds detest treache-
 rous Practices. I am indeed very un-
 willing to speak, what it is absolutely
 necessary you should hearken to and
 seriously consider; but the constant fi-
 delity I have always shew'd in your
 Service, and the sincere affection I bear
 to your Person, inspire me with a bold-
 ness suitable to this occasion. I am a-
 fraid (may Heaven avert the ill Omens
 my mind portends,) I tell you, Sir, I
 am more than ordinarily apprehensive,
 that these turbulent and unquiet thoughts
 are suggested by your evil Genius,
 which has destin'd you to the loss of
 your Reputation, your Life, and your
 Estate.

Estate. You are sensible that *Janetia Doria* looks on you with an envious Eye, and you have sometimes complain'd to me, that you did not think your self secure from his treacherous designs: Why then, (Sir) will you furnish him with Arms to destroy you even by the Rules of Justice? How gladly will he embrace this opportunity of gratifying his private Revenge, under the colour of preserving his Country from Ruine and Confusion? How greatly will he rejoyce within himself, when he shall hear that you have precipitately engag'd your self in such Resolutions, as will on very good grounds justify him and his Party in the forcible opposition he will openly make you? You will be declar'd the Disturber of the Publick Peace, an Enemy to the common Liberty, the betrayer of your Country, a rebel to the Republick, and (in a word) the *Cariline* of *Genova*. I am struck with so much horror at the thoughts of it, that I have not the power to represent to you, how many Enemies; this odious Character

rafter publickly given of you; will
 arm for your destruction; and these
 not only the Nobility, the Tradesmen,
 the Labourers, and the Mob of *Genova*,
 (whose resistance perhaps you may
 think despicable) but also Foreign
 Princes and their Subjects, will oppose
 you with so unanimous a vigour, that
 the sad conclusion of the whole will be
 your sinking under the violence of this
 part of the World join'd together in a
 Confederacy, to punish your dangerous
 attempts by the infamous death of a
 Malefactor. Your territories will be
 forfeited to the Publick Bank: Your
 memory will be Scandalous and De-
 testable in the Annals of *Genova*: *Jannetin*
 will be acknowledg'd as the second
 deliverer of his Country, and the re-
 storer of her Liberties, and all his glo-
 ry will be built upon your Ruines?
 Perhaps the gratitude of the *Genoueses*
 will induce them to set up near *Andrew*
Doria's Statue, another equally mag-
 nificent, to the Honour of *Jannetin*, in
 the Pedestal whereof shall be inscrib'd:
John Lewis de Fieschi the Publick En-

my subdu'd by Jannetin Doria, the Publick Benefactor. Therefore let not the impetuous rashness of your age, and the violence of your resentments, hurry you into designs of so hazardous a Consequence; but let the consideration of your Self, your Family, and your Vassals, lay some restraint on these blind and unruly Passions: Remember (Sir) what you owe to God, to your Country, to your Reputation, and to your Birth: Reflect with a generous compassion on the Miseries in which you will involve your Mother and your Wife: And by abandoning your present thoughts, free the minds of all that love you, from these just and necessary apprehensions. Your blooming Youth, and your early Valour are too rich a treasure, to be so prodigally Sacrific'd to the Mercy of Fortune. Therefore (your faithful Servant once more intreats you) enjoy with a contented mind the affluent Patrimony your Ancestors have left you, for you are yet in a station every way so eminent, that you may (if you please) live
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the object of *Fannetin's* envy, and beyond the reach of his Malice or his Treachery?

This discourse of *Calcagno*, founded on so many powerful reasons, and coming from a Person who had given many undoubted Testimonies of his zealous affection, made so good an impression on *Fieschi's* mind, that his resolutions seem'd to be pretty well inclin'd to the safer side: But *Verrina*, foreseeing that the whole design might yet be left unattempted, if he should suffer the Count calmly to consider of what had been alledg'd, he made this detestably impious, tho' plausible opposition, to the solid Arguments produced by *Calcagno*.

Would to God the affairs of the Republick were in those happy circumstances, that the Citizens might quietly enjoy their Estates; then (Sir) there would be no reason for you (as there is at present) to desire a Reformation: For, as *Calcagno* has well observ'd, there is no one at this time in *Genova*, who is equal to you either in the extent of

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Territories, the Nobility of Birth, and a Treasury well furnish'd with ready Cash ; and therefore (I am of his mind) it is not the part of a Wise Man when he is in Prosperity, to tempt his Fortune, which generally changes to his disadvantage. But Destiny, the cruel Enemy of your Repose, hath so entangled the affairs of the Republick, that unless you undertake some great, and hazardous design, you must inevitably Perish. *Jannetin Doria*, who for so many years has gratifi'd his ambitious thoughts, with the expectation of being Master of *Genova*, cannot endure you who are so able to cope with him, and to ruin these his vast Projects. The implacable hatred this Proud Man bears to you, you may plainly discover by his imperious Looks, and his contumacious Behaviour : If you think the Testimonies fallible, surely you cannot but conclude, that since your purchase of the Gallies, you are (as a Nail struck through and clencht in his heart) an insupportable Torment to him. His Arrogance aims at the free and absolute

absolute Dominion of the Sea, nor will he suffer any one to presume to disturb him in his possession, or to share the power of it. How then can you suppose, that since Princes very often sacrifice their Brethren, Children, and even Parents, to a groundless Jealousie that they weaken the security of their Empire, *Januetin* should suffer you to partake with him in his Maritime Dominion? His stubborn Nature, which will not bend, must therefore be forc'd to a compliance. And you must either tamely resign your Gallies, and by a shameful Retirement to your own Palaces, yield him all that his Ambition craves; or you must by the Arts of Policy, and an unwearied Industry, excite against your Rival a sufficient number of Enemies to curb and restrain him. However if you resolve to purchase your safety from the dangers now imminent, with the loss of your Reputation, and to accept of your Life as granted you by *Januetin*; God forbid I should be too importunate an opposer of those Dictates of Self-preservation;

tho' even his inveterate hatred cannot (I am sure) prompt him to with you in circumstances more despicable and wretched. But the greatness of your mind checks my unworthy Suspicion of your Conduct, and promises that I shall see the Vanity and Pride of this Arrogant Man pull'd down and crush'd by your Courage. Therefore (Sir) propose to your self, and that with an inflexible resolution, the undertaking this Enterprize, which is so brave, as even *Jannetin* himself will envy you for it. Fortune has placed between you two the absolute Command of all *Liguria*, and it is impossible for either of you to acquire so great a Dignity, till he has (like *Tullia*) driven the Wheels of his Triumphant Chariot over the breast of his Competitour. He will be the surest of the Victory, who can by the most expedite Methods dispatch his Enemy out of the World. There is an equal necessity lies on both of you, to take care of your safety; therefore he will be the wisest of you, who by a swift and resolute Stroke, shall ruin his

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Adversaries flow Projects before they are half ripe. You must either be the Aggressor, or you must expect to be Attack'd ; you must either fall in to your Enemies Snares, or catch him in yours ; in a word you must either Kill or be Kill'd.

Perhaps *Calcagno* may think my expressions are too sharp ; but Necessity, which in desperate Cases gives an edge to Fortitude, in Villainous Attempts shields the Innocent from Danger and Infamy. Therefore let him blame *Janet's* Folly, your Countrey's Ingratitude, and the Injustice of your Partial Destiny, which have plung'd you in these inevitable Difficulties. While you stand upon your own defence, you injure none, but only obey the Dictates of Nature. And when you see a Tempest of ill Accidents threatening your Ruin, Prudence will direct you, to throw them (if you can) on your Enemy's Head : If this carries along with it some colour of Injustice, who can blame you for it, when Providence has left you no other means to

secure your own Life, but by the death of your Rival, nor permits you to defend your Innocence and exert your Courage in any other Method but those of Villainy? But why do you give it so undeserv'd an Epithet? That Term you have learn'd (*Friend Calcagno,*) from the Trivial Notions of some Pedant, whose humble Studies never gave him an insight into *Machiavel's* Rules of Policy. These reproachful Characters are (I grant you,) fix'd on the Actions of Private Men, when for their Covetous Ends they incroach on their Neighbours: But shou'd you by this Rule involve under the same Odium the Gallant Undertakings of Princes, all the Empires and Principalities of the World wou'd be founded on Villainy, for they all at first began, and have since increas'd, by Oppression; the weaker being still crush'd by the power of the stronger. By Nature all Men are on a Level; 'tis Boldness and Courage only, that in favour of some particular Men destroys this equality. Hence those who by
subtlety

by subtilty or force cou'd possess themselves of the Supreme Power, have assum'd the Magnificent Stile of Emperors, Kings, and Princes. Perhaps some few (like *Caligano*) may, because they distrust the success, blame your Resolution: For hazardous Attempts are never prais'd, till they are compleatly executed: Then the happy Event, makes the Undertaking appear not only Lawful but Honourable; and what before was censur'd as Rashness, shall then receive the Encomium of Valour and Conduct. Thus while *Julius Caesar* the Dictator was at the head of his Army striving for the *Roman* Empire, not only *Pompey*, but the greatest part of the Senate, stuck obstinately to the defence of their Privileges, and declar'd themselves his Enemies; but when the Battle of *Pharsalia* had decided the Controversie, by the Total Rout of *Pompey's* Forces, and he had taken upon him the Government of the Republick, those Hatreds and Prejudices were quite extinguish'd, and how sincerely the *Romans*

loved him, their Remarkable Zeal in Prosecuting and Punishing his Murthe-
 rers will sufficiently inform you. Let
 the *Genoueses* then for a while call you
 Tyrant and Usurper, and trouble not
 your self at these Reproaches, which
 will only be the impertinent expressi-
 ons of their Malice, and the last groans
 of their expiring Liberty. By degrees
 they will accustom themselves to ac-
 knowledge and respect you as their
 Lawful Prince. You see (Sir,) how
 firmly I relie on your good Fortune ;
 since I call this Principality yours, even
 before I see any preparations made for
 the acquiring of it. But the present
 posture of affairs is such, that *Genoua*
 must be yours if you are not wanting
 to your self : For though there are
 (as *Calcagno* thinks) some obstacles in
 your way, yet how easily may they
 be surmounted by your Forces, which
 are so much superior to them ? And
 suppose there were such Hazards and
 Difficulties in this Enterprize as have
 been represented, 'tis no more than has
 been the Fate of all Ancient and Mo-
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dern Hero's, as History will inform
 you. Great Undertakings are always
 accompanied with great Dangers ; as
 (you see) the highest Hills border on
 the steepest Precipices. And what
 Man of a daring Spirit, and aspiring
 Thoughts, wou'd ever, for the uncer-
 tain fear of some eminent Misfortunes,
 yield himself a willing Prey to Cala-
 mities that must unavoidably fall upon
 him ? 'Tis indeed the best Counsel can
 be given to private Men, to rest-satisfi-
 ed with a competent Fortune ; but in
 affairs of State these trimming Coun-
 sels are pernicious, especially where the
 execution of the grand design opens
 the Scene : For then 'tis so far out of
 our power, either to retrieve past Er-
 rors, or politickly to regulate each step
 of future proceedings, that we must
 either gain the utmost point we aim
 at, or meet our Ruin in the prosecution
 of it. But let us not suppose so sad an
 Event of our Undertaking : 'Tis a ne-
 cessary piece of Sagacity to have a
 prospect of distant Misfortunes ; not
 that we shou'd torment our selves with
 the

the daily expectation of them; but that prudent Considerations may pull out their sting, and make them more tolerable; 'tis fit, indeed, that we shou'd proceed cautiously, but then we must take care that an excess of Caution do not abate our Courage, or slacken our Resolution. Something, after all, must be left to the disposal of Providence, and the direction of your good *Genius*, which having chosen you to be the Deliverer of *Genova*, and the Restorer of the Ancient Renown of *Italy*, will certainly find a way to extricate you out of all your Difficulties: Therefore why shou'd you refuse to accept the Monopoly of these Favours which Fortune liberally offers you? To what end shou'd you call in the *French* to share with you both your Fame and your Conquests? They have lost their own Reputation, as well as their Territories on this side of the *Alpes*; and their Spirits are no less sunk than their Credit, since King *Francis's* Imprisonment, so that they are hardly able to secure their own Frontiers

tiers from the Emperor's Forces, whose Triumphs have already reach'd to the bordering parts of *Germany*. Besides this, I beg you wou'd look back on their inveterate Hatred to the *Italian* Nation; and let their Usage of *Andrew Doria*, be a warning to you; who after he had serv'd that Crown, with so much Honour and Success, met with such unworthy Treatment, by the influence of the Nobility (for they cou'd not allow even him so high a place in the King's Favour, till his Gold had purchas'd their Intercession in order to it,) that he was forc'd to accept the Emperor's Protection, and to serve under him. 'Tis true, the *French* King has many Accomplishments truly Royal, but yet he suffers (as almost all great Princes do) the Inconveniences of being impos'd upon by his Ministers of State; of whose worth and integrity he has so excessive an esteem deeply impress'd on his Mind, that there is no Prince more liable to be ensnar'd by the Artifices of his Courtiers, nor any less sensible of his

his Infirmary, and of the ill Consequences of it. You must either therefore be a Slave to these Ambitious and Covetous Men, or else you may assuredly expect to lose (as *Doria* has already done,) both the King's Favour, and the uncertain Rewards of your past Services. But what Recompence can the *French* make you, suitable to the Hazards and Fatigues you will undergo, for them? Perhaps they will entrust you with the Government of *Genoua*, encumbred with the vile dependences I told you of: But this wou'd be to abase your self to the inferior quality of a mercenary Officer in that Country, wherein Nature has already given you so large a share of Power, and seems to promise you the absolute Command. And if the Emperor, or the City, should make a vigorous opposition to your designs, with what Succours can the *French* assist you, whose Territories are at so vast a distance, and who are themselves strangely disorder'd by intestine Jealousies and Animosities? 'Tis undoubtedly certain
that

that you must rely on the Loyalty of your own Subjects and the sincerity of your Friends and Allies; and why shou'd you not make use of these Forces (so properly your own) to set on your own head a Crown so fit for you, and which you so justly deserve? Then, when your Power over *Genova* is thoroughly settled, and you have in your possession the Keys of the Maritime Gate into *Italy*, the greatest Kings in Christendom will be Ambitious to be your Friends and Confederates. Then the Envy of your Competitors being Conquer'd, we shall see the Family of *Fieschi* rais'd to a higher Dignity than any Family of *Genova* ever yet arriv'd to. Then your Enemies, who have despis'd and ridicul'd your Youth, being crush'd under your Feet, you will have it in your power to satiate your Revenge in their Blood. *Fannetin*, even *Fannetin Doria* himself, your Treacherous Enemy, in spite of his Pride, and notwithstanding his Nobility, the station he so much boasts of, will fall a suppliant at your Feet, will Re-
 vrence

rence you as his Lord, and Obey you as his Prince ; by your Nods he will Regulate his Actions, your Will shall give Law to his Desires, and he shall acknowledg that he holds his Life only daring your pleasure. Therefore let the *French* keep at home, and there let them hear the Echoes of your resounding Triumphs.

It is your part (Sir) Vigorously to oppose and surmount all Obstacles, which may make the Execution of your Project seem difficult : Perform it (I beseech you) with a Courage and Boldness worthy of your Birth. Let the Merit of your own Exploits purchase that Renown which Heaven has decreed you : Let the World see that you owe your Advancement only to your self : And though the hopes I have entertain'd of you are vastly large, yet let your Actions exceed them : In short, do not sheath your Sword till you have entail'd this Princely Dignity on your Family, and thereby secur'd to your own Name an *Immortal Reputation*.

Fieschi,

Fieschi, till now, never thought of acquiring the Principality of *Genova* for himself, but for the *French King*; being content to reduce the excessive Power of the *Doria's* into narrower Limits, and to better his own Condition by calling in the *French*: But being desirous of Glory, and naturally inclin'd to attempt hazardous Undertakings, it prov'd no difficult matter for *Verrina* to dissuade him from his Affection to the *French*, by proposing to him these methods of setting up himself: Which having over-balance'd the weight of *Calcagn's* Reasons, hurried him on to the execution of a Project both Villainous and Dangerous in the highest degree. However he was much shock'd at the apprehension of the difficulties which wou'd attend his design, without the assistance of the *French Forces*: And *Raphael Sacco* made it his endeavour to confirm him in these Perplexities, out of a partial Affection to *France* his Native Country; he advis'd him to accept of the Conditions propos'd to him in the
King's

King's Name by Cardinal *Trivulce*, and to Act by that Model, till a silent and leisurely progress, shou'd open a Path towards the compleating his grand design.

But *Verrina*, who look'd upon all Moderation extreamly prejudicial in an affair which required an inflexible Resolution, appli'd himself to remove those difficulties which made *Fieschi* grow luke-warm in it. He repli'd with great vehemence, that to be terrifi'd with Fantasms, was below the Spirit of a Nobleman: That the Garrison in *Genova* consisted not of above Two Hundred Men: That *Doria's* Gallies, though many in number, were not now in a posture of defence; the Season of the Year obliging them to be laid up in their Harbours; that *Andrew* and *Fannetin* were so far from suspecting any Violence, that both their Persons and their Houses were without a Guard: That the Count might quickly bring in a good number of the likeliest Men that the Neighbouring Countrey and Villages wou'd afford,

afford, and that these shou'd Kill the Two *Doria's* in their own House : That it wou'd be easie at the same time to send another party of Men by Sea to seize *Doria's* Gallies : That the remaining part of the design wou'd effect it self, the Populace bearing such an Inveterate hatred to the Nobility, that a slender invitation wou'd be sufficient to make them espouse his Quarrel : And that he himself had already dispos'd their Minds for it, and wou'd take care they shou'd not fail to rise when their Assistance shou'd be requisite.

These and several other things subtilly aggravated by *Verrina*, who knew how great an influence he had over *Fieschi*, dissipated all his Doubts, and fixed his Resolution to proceed according as *Verrina* had perswaded him. Hereupon he set his thoughts to devise a Method how to bring this affair to a happy conclusion. The first and unanimous Resolution of all the Conspirators was, That since the safety of the present Government depended so entirely

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tirely on the lives of the *Doria's*, 'twas
 absolutely necessary in order to a change
 of the constitution, that they two should
 be kill'd: And to make sure of a com-
 plete Revenge, it was likewise resolv'd
 that *Adam Centurio* Father-in-Law to
Fannetin, and several of the Prime of
 the Nobility should be us'd in the same
 manner. As soon as Count *Fieschi* be-
 gan to entertain thoughts of this Pro-
 ject, and after he had bought the Gal-
 lies, he retir'd into his own Territo-
 ries; where he spent his time chiefly
 in training and reviewing the Militia
 of those Countries, pretending that he
 apprehended an Invasion from his
 Neighbour the Duke of *Piacenza*,
 whereas his real design was to make
 his Subjects capable of serving him in
 his undertaking against the Republick
 towards the latter end of the Autumn he
 return'd to *Genoua*, where he us'd great
 Artifice to obtain the Friendship of
 those Senators who were of the Popu-
 lar Faction: He insinuated himself into
 their acquaintance with a wonderful
 Affability: To some of them he made
 liberal

liberal Presents : Others he assisted both in paying their Debts, and in making a party for them to gain the preferments they desir'd : To every one of them he appli'd himself with all possible demonstrations of a sincere Friendship. And being of a very quick wit, and naturally very easie and complaisant, 'tis hardly credible how soon he gain'd an entire Confidence with them, and thereby secur'd himself of the assistance of their dependents. When he found that he had won their Affections, and could rely upon their Secrecy, he began as opportunities were offer'd, to speak of the Tyrannical Government of the Nobility, sometimes shewing by his Speeches (which were often interrupted by dissembled sighs) how much he piti'd the sad Estate of the Populace ; sometimes hinting that, if they would not be wanting to themselves, some effectual remedy might be found out, to repress the Arrogance of the Nobility ; at other times he advis'd them with the sharpest Ironies to Passive Obedience under their Slave-

ry, leaving always in their minds a
 greater Propension to Discontents, by
 his perplex'd and dubious Expressions.
 But above all, if any accident hapen'd
 which cross'd the Inclinations of the Po-
 pular Faction, he took occasion from
 thence to discourse largely to them
 of the Male-Administration of Af-
 fairs, under the present Government.
 Nor did he disdain to seek with dili-
 gence the good opinion of the meanest
Plebeians, but was always ready to
 court them, with smiles and affable dis-
 course, and he took care to please their
 eyes with the dazzling splendor of his
 Cloaths. These Artificial Advantages
 were much set off by a graceful Person
 and a face adorn'd with all the charms
 of a healthy Youth: His
 Air and his Behaviour
 were so extremely genteel
 and easie, that he fail'd not to gain the
 Peoples affections as soon
 as he shew'd himself in
 Publick to them; which he
 often did for the ends, and according to
 the Methods * unhappy
 deluded

*Youth, Beauty,
 graceful Ad-
 on seldom fail.*

*Dryden's Misc.
 Poems. 1. part
 P. 59.*

* 2 Sam. 14. 25

deluded *Absolom* formerly pursued.
 Besides this he delighted frequently
 to exercise his skill in Martial Disci-
 pline and Horsemanship, for the excel-
 lent performance of both which, his
 body was so proportionably fram'd,
 that in this posture especially he al-
 ways appear'd a most lovely object to
 the Spectators.

But because the reputation of Libera-
 lity is the certainst Snare to entangle
 the Mobile, Count *Fieschi* (as is re-
 ported) called to him one * *il Console*.
 the Warden of the
 Silk-weavers Company, of whom there
 is in *Genoua* a very great number. He
 askt him very civilly concerning
 the circumstances of his Associates, and
 understanding that they were reduc'd
 to extreme want (their Trade in *Ge-
 noua* being much decay'd by the exces-
 sive increase of it in other Places) he
 express'd a most tender compassion to-
 wards the poor Sufferers, saying, he
 would not abandon them at a time of
 so great necessity; and therefore or-
 der'd that those whose Poverty was
 G 3 known

known to be most pressing, should be secretly sent to his House to be reliev'd. The next day a great number of these Wretches flockt together to visit their Benefactor; who to signalize his Liberality, caus'd a large quantity of Corn to be divided among them, telling them, that as the relieving the needy and the afflicted, had always been the Character of his Family, so he would never by any means degenerate from his Ancestors, therefore whenever they wanted sustenance for their Families, they might confidently expect it from him, and (tho' their modesty should restrain them from the importunity of Beggars) they might at any time find at his House all necessaries ready provided for them. Thus did he add a greater lustre to his Bounty, by seeming desirous to conceal from the view of the World, both that and the miseries of the persons reliev'd: Who went home no less chear'd by the assistance, than astonish'd at the liberality of Count *Fieschi*, who they thought deserv'd as a reward from Heaven, the highest

highest dignities and the happiest success.

However being apprehensive that the Nobility would suspect his designs, if he made it his whole business to gain the affections of the Mobile, his next study was how to poize the Balance so even, as to secure himself of a confidence and friendship with both. To this end he perfected himself in the art of Dissimulation: He went oftner than usual to visit the *Doria's*, and not only made many professions of an affectionate esteem for *Andrew*, (to whom he openly declar'd himself to be under many obligations) but also disguising the inveterate hatred he bore to *Jannetin*, he treated him with the intimacy of a Friend, asking his advice and praying his assistance in the management of his concerns. And because there had formerly been some quarrels between them, which had imbitter'd their Spirits towards one another, he begg'd of *Jannetin*, with the promises of a sincere kindness for the future, that he would absolutely forget what was past.

By the secret League between the Duke of *Piacenza* and Count *Fieschi*, the Duke agreed to send him two thousand Men, which, with two thousand more rais'd in the Count's Territories, were thought sufficient to quell the risings of the Citizens if any should oppose him; and to this end, he sent one of his Gallies to the coasts of *Genoua*, under the pretence of fitting and manning it for a Maritime Expedition against the *Algierines* and other *Infidels* in their own Seas. Nor was *Verrina* wanting to forward these designs; for he made it his business to gain over to *Fieschi* as great a party as he could; and being expert in the Artifices of Popularity, he in a little time engag'd some hundreds of the Populace under a promise, to stand by him in a great undertaking that was then carrying on for their advantage.

By these preparatory Methods they thought they had laid a sufficient Foundation for their Project, and therefore held another consult to determine in what manner they should attempt the
final

final Execution of it. Their first Opinion was that there should be notice given of the Solemnity of * * *una Messa* an extraordinary Mass to *nova.* be celebrated in St. *Andrew's* Church, unto which the two *Doria's*, and those of the Nobility, whose lives they aim'd at, should be invited. But this resolution appear'd no less uncertain as to the success of it than Inhumane and Sacrilegious; for they thought it was very probable *Andrew Doria* would excuse his absence on the account of his Age, and send in his stead *Philippea* or some other near Relation with his accustom'd offering. And it shockt them not a little to consider how horrid a thing it would be, to begin their enterprize with so unparallell'd a Profanation of the Church, and of the highest Mysteries of Religion. This proposal therefore was absolutely reject-ed; altho' *Verrina*, as he was prompted by the violence of his Temper, assur'd them he would at that very instant dispatch *Andrew*, under the plausible disguise of a friendly visit. But as
Men

Men when once they have broke through the Restraints of Vertue, fall headlong into all manner of Wickedness, so these slender remains of a modest Scrupulosity, which checkt them in their former resolution, a little after prov'd too weak to hinder them from projecting a more destable piece of Villany.

For it hapning about this time, that the Marriage was to be celebrated between *Julius Cibo* Marquis of *Massa*, related to *Fieschi*, and one of *Fannetta Doria's* Sister; it was resolv'd that *Fieschi* should invite the Bride and several Ladies to Supper, and with them not only the two *Doria's*, but also those of the Nobility whom they thought the most dangerous Enemies to their Project, all of whom were to be Murthered barbarously, by hir'd Ruffians, conceal'd in the House for that purpose, * against the sacred Laws of Hospitality and Converse. That immediately after the commission of this unparalleld Treachery, *Fieschi* attended with his Guards

It: r sacra men-
se. Thuanus
in Anno 1547.

Guards should ride about the Streets of *Genoua*, calling upon the Mob to assist him in the recovery of their Liberty: That during these Tumults, some of the Count's Party should possess themselves of the Town-Hall, where *Verri-na* in a plausible Harangue should discover to the Populace, *Fieschi's* intention to change the state of *Genoua* into an absolute Monarchy, and having represented to them how necessary it was to reform the Government, which had been so much corrupted by the insolence and selfishness of the Nobility, should Crown the Count *Fieschi* Duke of *Genoua*, and force the *Plebian*s, whom they before hand brib'd to it, to swear Allegiance to him; and if any Man either by his Words or Actions should testify his dislike, he should be presently kill'd.

To compleat this design the more easily, it was order'd that the ablest Soldiers the Count had, shou'd in the least suspected manner they cou'd, lodge themselves in *Genoua*, and the Duke of *Piacenza* was again solicited to

to hasten the promised Succours. These Transactions (especially the raising of Soldiers) cou'd not be manag'd so secretly, but *Don Ferrand Gonzaga*, whom the Emperour had appointed Governour of the Dutchy of *Milan*, in the room of the Marquess *del Vasto*, had very shrewd suspicions of what was intended: For watching carefully, for the security of his own Government, over every Motion of his Neighbours, and receiving constant intelligence concerning the Actions of those Princes whom he mistrusted, by able and faithful Persons employ'd by him in that Office, he quickly came to be inform'd, that there were Two Thousand Men raising in the Dutchy of *Piacenza* with great hast for the Service of Count *Fieschi*. And guessing by the silent Methods of their Proceedure, that there was a Private Treaty between *Fieschi* and that Duke, he presently dispatches a Courier to *Genova* with Advice to *Doria*, and to *Don Gomez Suarez* the Emperour's Resident there, that they shou'd be watchful,
and

and stand on their Guard, for that the young Count *Fieschi* was underhand contriving some great design. *Andrew Doria* was nevertheless so far deceiv'd by the flattering shews of Affection, and by the serenity of Countenance which he constantly observ'd in *Fieschi*, and finding all things in the City in the same quiet posture they were before, that he again refus'd to give Credit to these likely Symptoms of the Conspiracy. It hapned, that while *Doria* and the Resident were discoursing of this Affair, *Fieschi* unexpectedly came into the Room, with so pleasing and chearful a Look, and while he staid there discours'd with them so solidly concerning several matters, that *Doria* being charm'd with his Conversation, whisper'd the Resident, and ask'd him, How he cou'd suppose, that a Mind so well Accomplish'd, and a Person of so Angelical a Beauty wou'd attempt so cruel a piece of Villany? Nor did he change his Opinion when *Gonzaga* having from the Court of *France* receiv'd some Confirmation

firmation of his former suspicions, sent another Message to him, seriously advising him to search to the bottom of the design ; informing him likewise, that the Pope's Gallies were ready at *Civita Vecchia*, and the French Gallies in the Port of *Marseilles* , to support and assist, if occasion were, the Fortune of *Fieschi*.

And certainly, did not History mention several very eminent Persons, who on light grounds were incredulous to what they heard concerning Designs against themselves, *Andrew Doria's* excessive good Nature wou'd deserve a sharp Censure : For that when he had such assurances given him, that his own Life, and, through that, the Constitution of the Republick was aim'd at, he gave greater Credit to *Fieschi's* dissembled Looks and Actions, than to the pregnant Evidences of so foul a Conspiracy ; as if it were not usual for those who have such designs in hand, to dissemble, for a while, their intended Mischief under a smooth Countenance ; or as if any Care and Vigilance

Vigilance were too much to preserve one's own Life in Safety, and one's Countrey from Ruin. But since Ancient Histories afford us several Examples of very Wise Men, who have suffer'd themselves to be deluded by a fatal Incredulity in matters of the greatest importance, we may reasonably affirm, that these Events preordain'd, or inevitably permitted, by an over-ruling Providence, cou'd not be compleated, but by these Momentary Mistakes of the wisest Politicians, (as an Epidemical Distemper may sometimes seize on the soundest Body) that we may not attribute too much to Worldly Wisdom, when we find it so defective in matters of the greatest moment. But certainly *Paul Pansa* was much more overseen, who viewing *Fieschi's* Actions with a careful and friendly Eye, from the time that he bought the Gallies, cou'd not but suspect there was some extraordinary design in hand, and yet did not then give that Check to it which his Station and Dignity allow'd. The Transactions which he every
Day

Day saw and heard were just occasion for the increase of these suspicions. For *Fieschi*, whose usual custom it had been to impart to *Pansa* his most secret affairs and designs, now became very close and reserv'd to him, and very frequent in his Consultations with his other ill chosen Confidants, whose Characters I have before represented. For although, while he entertain'd his Friends, or appear'd on Horse back in the streets of *Genoua*, he wonderfully disguis'd his thoughts from the publick view, by a dissembled chearfulness in his countenance and behaviour, yet when he return'd home the Scene was quite chang'd, and the perplexing agitations of his Soul plainly discover'd themselves by a profound Melancholy, and a wild distracted Look. His aim in concealing his designs from *Pansa's* knowledge, was only because he knew for certain, a Man so well principld in Piety and Morality, wou'd use his utmost endeavour to deterr him from so wicked an Enterprize: Or at least he suspected that *Pansa*, who had been bred

bred up at a distance from the warlike sound of Drums and Trumpets, under the Peaceful Influence of the Muses, (who always chuse a quiet retreat from Noise and Tumult) wou'd examine every Circumstance of the Project with an excessive Caution, and dissuade him from proceeding in it beyond the limits of security; which in undertakings of this Nature no Man ought to flatter himself with, because 'tis utterly impossible.

One Day, it so happen'd that Count *Fieschi* being after his return home, more than ordinarily disturb'd with Melancholy Thoughts, and *Pansa* perceiving by the apparent uneasiness in his Looks and Behaviour, that his Mind was strangely distemper'd, he resolv'd immediately to discourse with him concerning it, least if he shou'd delay any longer, the Disease might grow incurable, before any Remedy were administred. Finding him therefore retired into a private Apartment, he accosted him in this manner.

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As it is very unbefitting a well-bred Person to pry into the secrets of others, so it is on the other hand very laudable to conceal what is so imparted; and as I have not given you my promise of Secrecy, because I hope all my Actions have sufficiently demonstrated my Fidelity, so I have hitherto forbore enquiring into your Concerns, lest I shou'd be guilty of any thing that might incur your displeasure. Nevertheless your unaccustom'd reservedness plainly declares to me, that the Project you are now designing, is of the highest moment, since you take such pains to hide it from your Friends. Your Looks, so full of disturbance and inquietude, give me occasion to share with you in your solicitous Apprehensions; and though I know not the reason, yet I am full of fears for your safety. This proceeds from no other cause, (Sir) but the excess of my Love to your Person, and my sincere and ardent Wishes (as is my duty) for your Prosperity. For how can I persuade my self that what you aim

at is really desirable, since the thoughts of it do so violently shock the usual Serenity of your Mind? Certainly the conclusion of that affair, which, though yet in Embryo, gives you these disturbances, cannot be so tranquil as a wise Man wou'd wish: And this mighty Inquietude and Commotion of your Soul, is But an unhappy Omen of the unsuccessful Event of your Enterprize. I will not pretend to dive into the Secret which you have thought fit to conceal from me: (though what Service am I able to do you, if you at all suspect my Truth and Faithfulness?) but (pray Sir consider) whither can their persuasions lead you, whose Conversation always leaves you oppress'd with a Load of Cares and Discontents? And (if you will allow me to probe your Wound, that it may the more easily be cur'd,) I do more than doubt, that these your secret Conferences with crafty and ill designing Persons, will by degrees alienate your Mind from the Rules of Virtue and True Honour. Their Piety is

not so sincere, nor their Moral Principles so well founded, that I can expect they shou'd give you any advice consistent with your Honour or Religion. Perhaps they impose on the Candour of your Nature, and the small experience of your Years, thinking, that because your Temper is inclinable to the pursuit of Glorious Actions, you will the more easily join with them in any rash Project, which they shall disguise under those colours. Shut not your Eyes (I beg you Sir) against these dangers, but rather exert your utmost and most diligent Attention : For one Mad Man may push you into a precipice, from whence a Thousand Wise Men with all their Arts cannot retrieve you.

'Tis an easie matter to set your own, or your Neighbour's House on Fire, but how much Toil and Labour and Sweat will it cost to stop and extinguish it ? Therefore (pray Sir) take good heed that these Fellows do not make you their Property to bring about their own Ends ; and by their

deceiving

deceiving you into an irreparable loss, do not from thence build up their own Fortunes. There are but few Counsellors (too few alas !) so honest, as without the prospect of Self-Interest, to promote and aim at what is Just and Honourable ; therefore it is absolutely necessary for you to try them by this Touch-stone. For my part I cannot perswade my self, that those, whose Lives are a continued Scene of Flagitious Crimes, will ever instill or advance the progress of Vertue in any other Person. For although a Man's Discourse and his Actions may be separately consider'd, nevertheless, Experience informs us, that a good Example preaches Reformation more effectually than the most Eloquent Discourses ; for these grow contemptible when the daily practice of him that gives the Advice contradicts his Exhortations. Therefore (Sir) what unreasonable things do your importunate Confidants demand of you ? Into what new and dangerous designs doe they endeavour to wheedle you ? Your

Circumstances cannot be better'd by any publick Confusions, though their's may. Fortune, which has so long smil'd on your Family, may very probably alter her Countenance to an Angry Frown, shou'd you be so imprudent as to irritate her ; and (I almost dare assure you) every alteration that may happen, will be much less desirable than your present Condition. Envy has a long time been endeavouring to canker your Happiness, and when your Mind and your Affairs are once in a disorder, that unlucky Fury will quickly force her entrance , by the means of several Persons, now much your inferiours both in Honour and Estate, who make it their business to find some reasonable grounds , on which, to found their Calumnies against you.

'Tis true, the chief delights of Youth flow from the Prospect their large Hopes afford them : But 'tis as true, no state is more dangerous than a secure Prosperity. Therefore, pray Sir, take care that (according to the Fable

Fable of our Ancient Mythologist) you lose not the real Substance which you now possess, by catching at a distant and uncertain, though perhaps, a very tempting Shadow. They (alas!) who fill your Head with these designs, have nothing of their own to lose: Tumults, Seditions, and a publick Anarchy, afford such Wretches, Shelter, Maintenance, and, too often, an increase of Honour and Riches; for those whose Fortunes are low built, cannot fear, as the great ones do, any shock in their easie descent to Ruin and Beggary. But (Sir) for you it is absolutely necessary to order your steps with Caution; for Fame expects it from you, that your Actions, if they do not exceed (as I hope they will) yet at least shall not come behind, the performances of your Ancestors.

Fieschi heard this discourse with great uneasiness and impatience; for his resolutions were unalterably fix'd on the design from which *Pansa* tri'd to dissuade him; nevertheless with some marks of Confusion in his Looks

and Gesture, he returned him this Answer in few words, *That he propos'd no Aims to himself but those that were Generous and Worthy of his Birth, which in due time he wou'd be sure to acquaint him withal.*

While the Conspirators were in great expectations of the Day appointed for the Feast, (which was to be the Fourth of *January*,) there happen'd an Accident which forc'd them to hasten the execution of their Project, though to their unspeakable regret, because it deprived them of the opportunity of cutting off a great part of the Nobility, whom otherwise they might have surpriz'd all together, they being then to assemble for the chusing a new Duke of that Republick. For *Andrew Doria* being seiz'd with a violent Fit of the Gout, which with its excessive Torments threw him into a dangerous Fever, he cou'd not meet according to his promise; and *Janettin* was oblig'd by some urgent business to leave *Genoua*, So that *Fieschi*, and his Confidents, considering that

Conspi-

Conspiracies have often been ruin'd, but hardly ever forwarded by unnecessary delays, resolv'd that on the Second of *January*, very early in the Morning, or as soon as they cou'd possibly get ready the preceding Night, they wou'd put their great design in execution. Hereupon *Fieschi* began to give out, that he wou'd send out one of his Gallies to molest the *Corfaires*, for the Pope allowing him but just enough to maintain Three, he was desirous to supply his Fourth Galley with all Necessaries, by the Prizes he shou'd take from the Infidels. By this specious and well disguis'd Artifice he brought in several of the Men sent him from *Piacenza*, and some of his own Vassals, pretending he wou'd chuse out the likeliest of them for his Expedition: And least the number of those that came from *Piacenza* shou'd seem to exceed what was requisite for the Manning a Galley, and thereby give some suspicion of a farther design in it, he caus'd some of them to be chain'd together, and so led like Men design'd for the Oar:

Oar : Others he caus'd to be dilarm'd, and to come into the City by several of the Gates, and he afterwards took care to furnish them with Arms. Then for the more easie deceiving of *Jannetin*, he first imparted this his Project to him as a Token of his Friendship, requesting him earnestly to interceed with *Andrew Doria*, that there might be no Obstacle put to his Enterprize ; for, as he pretended, he was under some apprehensions, least in pursuance of the Truce between *Solyman* the Grand Seignior, and the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, he might be stop'd in his intentions of Privateering.

On the First of *January*, (the Day preceding that Night which had like to have been Fatal to *Genova*) Count *Fieschi* sent for certain Soldiers of the City Guards to his Palace, some of whom were his own Subjects, others had by his means obtain'd their Freedoms of the City of *Genova* ; having done this, he went to *Andrew Doria's* House, where he staid till it grew late, expressing all the Marks of a Cordial Love
and

and True Respect for him and his Family : And it so happening, that *John Adorea*, and *Pagano*, Two Young Children of *Fannetin's*, as they were playing about the House met *Fieschi*, he took them in his Arms and kiss'd them several times in the presence of their Father. Just as he was going, he again desir'd *Fannetin*, to order his Soldiers not to stop his Galley, which was that Night to begin its Voyage towards the *Ægran* Sea, and earnestly intreated him not to be disturb'd if he shou'd hear the discharging of Guns, or any other Noise ; for those Enterprizes (as he very well knew) cou'd not be manag'd without some sort of Tumult. When Day was quite shut in, Count *Fieschi* caus'd all those Armed Men, whose assistance he thought requisite, to come into his Palace : Those, of whose Courage and Fidelity he had, had the greatest experience, he posted at all the Gates and Avenues, giving 'em strict Orders to let all enter that wou'd, but to suffer none to go out again.

Count

Count *Fieschi's* Palace was situated in that higher part of *Genova*, which is call'd *Carignan*, a place, as it were, divided from the rest of the City. For as two sides of it are bounded by the Walls of *Genova*, so from the East it views the delightful *Villa's* of *Albare*, and the pleasant Valley of *Bisagno*, and its front is towards the Sea. Thus by its lofty situation it is in a manner separated from, and proudly seems to domineer over the City that lies at its Feet. On this Ascent, and in an Island, stood *Fieschi's* Palace: So that 'twas as conveniently plac'd, as cou'd be, for carrying on such a design; for none of the adjacent Houses cou'd be at all Alarm'd by the Tumultuous Noise of Military preparations.

When they came to set the Watch in the Castle of *Genova*, *Gigante Corso* the Governour (whose Integrity was equal to his Valour) found several of his Soldiers missing: And having enquir'd diligently at their several Quarters, he receiv'd information, that Count *Fieschi* had entic'd them to fol-

low

low him to *Carignan*. The Novelty of the thing made him suspect some dangerous design ; so that he immediately imparted, what he had observ'd, to *Doria*, and to the Senators that kept their Residence in the Ducal Palace.

Now began to appear the Fatal Effects of *Fieschi's* cautious Hypocrisie ; for *Fannetin Doria*, being prepossess'd with the Count's pretended design of fitting out a Galley, dissipated these Suspicions, by declaring to them (what he thought was real) that *Fieschi* had recall'd these Soldiers, his Subjects and Dependants, to serve him in Privateering towards the *Levant*.

Thus short sighted are the Apprehensions of us Mortals, who too often think our selves secure, when our Enemy hath not only design'd, but is just upon the point, of compleating our Ruin.

Count *Fieschi*, after he had staid a while in his own Palace to give necessary Orders, he went out again to visit some of the Merry Meetings, which in the depth of Winter

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ter the Nobility use to keep by turns in their several Houses. About Four Hours after he had began his Rounds, he came to *Thomas Affereto's* House, where he found got together, by the contrivance of *Verrina*, Three and Twenty Young Gentlemen who favour'd the Popular Faction. He staid there with them a while, entertaining them with great Civility, and then invited them to Sup with him at *Carignan*; towards which he urg'd this as a great inducement, that the Night was calm, and the Moon shone clear. As soon as they came to *Carignan*, he carri'd them into some of the farthest Apartments, and order'd *Pansa* to keep his Wife *Lemora* at the other end of the House, till he came to her, which should be in a little time. This Lady was of the illustrious Family of *Cibo*, Sister to *Julius*, Marquis of *Massa*, and to *Ambrey*, who after he had liv'd to see a Century of Years compleated, and had enjoy'd a Prosperous, though decrepit, Old Age, Died in the Year 1623, being Honour'd and Lamented by all *Italy*.

While

While these things were transacting in *Fieschi's* Palace, *Verrina* very cunningly went into the City as a Scout to spy, whether there was any motion or disturbance in the Ducal, or at *Doria's* Palace, or in any other part of *Genova*.

In the mean time *Fieschi's* Guests look'd on one another, being mightily Amaz'd to see the House more than usually full of Arms and Arm'd Men: But at last the Count himself, whose Countenance was quite chang'd, (whether by the Apprehensions of the Parricide he was just going to commit, or by the excess of his Rage and Malice against *Jametin*, which having been hitherto stifled within his Breast, began now plainly to shew it self in his Looks and Words, leaning upon the Table, and having struck it with great Vehemence, spoke to them in this manner.

Gentlemen,

Matters are now come to that pass, that no one who has a drop of noble Blood in his Veins, can any longer tamely

tamely bear these Oppressions. My patience and constancy have long since been shockt, by the dreadful prospect of my Country's Ruine, and my Countrymen's falling under the Tyranny design'd for them by an ungrateful Villain. Were it possible that these dangerous Distempers, which have already attackt the vitals of the Republick, could receive any remedy by our delays, I for my part would be very willing to consent to any Truce which might secure our common Safety: But since our affairs are driven to the last Extremity, there lies a necessity upon us to exert our utmost force for the preservation of our Country from Ruin. Dangers, such as ours are to be conquer'd by a bold Resistance, for nothing increases the weight of them more than a lazy expectation of Events. *Jannetin Doria* hath long since been surfeited with a series of prosperous successes attending him: Now he is become a Vassal to Ambition, that tormenting extravagancy of the Mind, and is got so near to the conclusion of his wicked designs,

designs, that neither fear nor modesty restrain him from threatening (more by Actions than by words) *Genova* with Servitude, and me with Death. Was it not enough for this Villain to behold the *Genouese* Populace, who but a little while agoe possess the Sovereignty of all *Liguria*, now depriv'd of that power and dignity, and subjected to the insolent scorn of the Nobility; but must he aim at enslaving us to an absolute Monarchy, wherewith he is designing to invest himself? To this purpose he grows uneasie at his present condition, and in his own Country (which yet enjoys the happiness of being a free State) he puts on the barbarity of a Foreign Invader; his Pride and Stubbornness are so great, that they cannot be mollified by our humble and modest compliance, nor can we by any Methods, how cautious soever, escape the fatal consequences of being suspected and hated by him. You see how strongly he has environed our

Maritime Coasts, with his twenty Gallies; you see how proudly he passes through the City, attended by such of the Nobility, who having by the means of *Andrew Doria* usurped that Dignity which was lately yours, now pay *Fannetin* for it the price of a servile obsequiousness; but that which most sensibly affects me is the invincible reasons I have to think, that he designs to oppress the publick Liberty by the assistance of the Emperour his too powerful Patron. And because I alone, out of a sense of the duty I owe to my Country, and of the particular obligations I have to your Party, would never consent (as several others of the Nobility have done) to the unjust depredations that have been made on the rights of the People, *Fannetin* is employing all his Engines for my destruction. Why therefore, Gentlemen, do we yet continue careless and cowardly Spectators of our approaching Calamities? For what enterprise do we reserve our Strength and

and Courage, if we now unhappily abandon our own and our Countries safety, when there is need of our utmost force to preserve it from Desolation? 'Tis now the time for us to punish, if we can, these Villainous Conspiracies, and not to lament and deplore them: Tears, Sighs, and querulous Language, are Weapons proper only for Women, but whoever deserves the nobler Character of a Man, ought to revenge his injuries in such vigorous Methods as are worthy that Sex, which Nature has honour'd with so large Prerogatives. We have all of us too long patiently endur'd the insolence of those, who impute this our good Nature, to a servile and base Temper. And the impunity with which their former Crimes have escap'd, do only encourage these oppressors to increase the grievances which we have till now disguis'd under a forc'd silence and a dissembled contentedness. And what further are we yet to expect from these Villains? Perhaps

when you are wholly depriv'd of the small share you now have in the Administration of affairs, their cruel mercy may induce them to spare some of your lives; but how much wish'd for will Death be by those who will daily be entertain'd with the dismal prospect of the ruin of Estates, the destruction of Families, Murthers treacherously perpetrated under the pretence of Law and Justice, Matrons and Virgins ravish'd, and many more Villainies committed, by *Jannetin Doria's* Soldiers, and by his approbation? These and many more Calamities are the unavoidable consequences of a Tyranny, which owes its Birth to the ruin of a flourishing State, and cannot be establish'd but by the Death of all brave and worthy Patriots.

Therefore (my Friends), are our Souls so degenerated? Is our Blood so spiritless and chill? Are our Weapons so very dull and blunted, that we cannot exert a vigorous Revenge, and put an end to the infamous life
of

of him, who glories in that he hath reduc'd us to this unfortunate and despicable condition? Shall we not pierce every fibre of that Heart that hath harbour'd projects so villainous and cruel? Shall we suffer one, who at the best, is but our equal, imperiously to trample upon us, and to have the same absolute power of Life and Death over us, as if we had been born his Slaves? For my own part I declare, I had much rather purchase my liberty with the utmost toil and hazard, than to slide with ease and sloth into the state of Servitude; and as I may (without arrogance) believe that our common Enemies, design my death as well as the subversion of the Republick, so do I with the most chearful willingness Sacrifice my life for the preservation of our National Liberty, which if I should not much preferr before the safety of my own Person, I were unworthy to live a moment longer. But however, I would fain see in you, those vigorous Emotions of mind,

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which

which not only your Quality and Education, but even those great dangers which at this time threaten your ruin, require from you. And whether you would have me act the part of your Leader, or of a common Soldier in so just a cause, I am ready according to your Orders, either to Command, or to obey. I here consign my self to you with an assurance, that as my Person shall be always in your Power, so my Soul shall be undaunted, and unshaken under whatsoever event may attend our undertaking.

But, Gentlemen, whether your honour or your safety is dear to you, you must be of good Courage, and take up Arms with me: For this resolution is absolutely necessary to you all, to those of you who are inspir'd with a forward valour 'tis exceeding glorious, and to those with whom a cautious abhorrence of War is more prevalent, self-preservation makes it indispensably requisite. Nor do I invite you to join with me in a
rash,

rash, and inconsiderate enterprize;
 for 'tis many Months since I not on-
 ly projected all the methods to ef-
 fect it, but made it my business to
 provide a sufficient number of Soldi-
 ers; who being now conveniently
 posted about the City, seem to give
 us full assurance of an easie and cer-
 tain victory, almost without the ha-
 zard of a Battel. So that when you
 call to mind the contemptuous beha-
 viour of our governing Nobility, and
 the excessive pride of *Jannetin Doria*,
 I am sure these Reflections must a-
 waken in you a desire of an honour-
 able revenge: And this will inspire
 you with so vigorous a courage in the
 use of your Weapons, that our Ene-
 mies will, to their loss and shame,
 admire the courage of us whom they
 have so much despis'd, and on the
 other side we shall know by experi-
 ence, whether their fortitude in War
 is any ways equal to their Arrogance
 and Luxury in times of Peace. Thus
 far, my Friends, I have laid before
 you my thoughts of the present state

of affairs: 'Tis time now to put an end to my discourse, that we may proceed in our successful enterprize. Let us march into the City, where multitudes are ready to joyn with us in our honourable undertaking. The Gates and Avenues are in the power of such Soldiers as I have brought over to my Interests; and when I give the signal, the *Genouse* Gallies will fall into the possession of some stout Seamen, who will with their lives defend their Prize, and annoy the Enemy.

In the City fifteen hundred Tradesmen and Artificers wait ready arm'd for our coming: By this time two thousand of the Infantry of *Piacenza*, and as many of my own Subjects are got into the Subürbs, and are calling upon the Populace to assist them in restoring the Liberty, resettling the ancient Government of *Genoua*, and extirpating the insolent Tyranny and Usurpation of *Fannetin Doria*, and his confederate Nobility.

There

Therefore rouse up your Courage, and march with me ; that this Night (which in Brightness Rivals the clearest Day) may put an end to the Memory of our past Servitude, by restoring to the despis'd Populace their Just Dignities and Rightful Privileges.

And if, after what I have said, there is any one of you, who shall be so Obstinate and Self-conceited, as to make any Objection or Opposition to an Exploit so Noble and Generous, as is the preserving our Country from imminent Servitude, let him look upon this Dreadful Scene of Warlike Preparations, and assure himself, that where there are so many Swords, his Breast shall not escape unpierc'd. I must freely and plainly declare to you, that 'tis absolutely necessary for us all to Fight, or to Die : And his Blood who shall refuse to Succour his Country in this time of Danger, shall be shed in this very place to wash out the stain of his Ingratitude and Perfidiousness : And this Hand of mine shall

shall Slay the first Victim, which Consecrates this Night to the Love of our Country, if any one dares be so untimely scrupulous as to make any Resistance.

This Threatning Speech, together with such a number of Arm'd Men appearing in their view ready to execute these Menaces, so much Astonish'd the Imprison'd Guests, that for some time they remain'd silent: But at last being more affected with the Apprehensions of their present Danger, (being on all sides hem'd in by Count *Fieschi's* Soldiers) then with the Horrour of the Impious Action they were going about, express'd their readiness to Obey the Count's Orders, and to follow him as their Leader. Two only of the whole Company dissembling a Cowardise, (Honourable on such an occasion) Petition'd *Fieschi* not to engage them in an Affair so far distant from their Profession; least (being surpriz'd with excessive Fear in the heat of the Fight) they shou'd rather be a hindrance

drance than a help to his Enterprize. And so exquisitely did they feign this unusual Terrour, that the Count, after he had a while discours'd with them, supposing as they pretended, their Company might be prejudicial to him, was well satisfi'd that they shou'd continue in an Apartment of his Palace confin'd under a strong Guard. These were *John Baptist Cataneo Bava*, and *John Baptist Justiniano*, the Son of *Urban*; who voluntarily Acting the Cowards at such a seasonable Juncture, to keep themselves from being the Infamous partakers in this Publick Parricide, deserve for it much greater Praise, than *Junius Brutus* for counterfeiting the Madman: For by that dissimulation he only secur'd himself from the Jealousie of the Proud Tyrant *Tarquin*, but these Worthies by their pretended Timorousness, did what in them lay, for the common safety of the Republick.

Fieschi's Servants had by this time furnish'd a Table with several Dishes
of

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of

of Meat, as a Collation rather than a Supper ; of which hasty Banquet while some few of his Guests without sitting down just tasted, the Count himself went into his Wife's Apartment, where he found her discoursing with *Pansa*, and in a few words imparted to her the design he was going about. This Lady being strangely surpriz'd at the horridness of the Fact, and the consideration of the Dangers her Husband expos'd himself to in the prosecution of it, fell at his Feet in the manner of a Suppliant, and accompanying her Words with Sighs and Tears, and all the Marks of a real and intense Sorrow, spake to him to this effect.

I beg you (my Dearest Lord) by the sincere and ardent Love I bear you, and by whatever in the World you value at the highest Rate , take care of your Life, and do not by so base an Act Blemish the Honour of your Family. By these Tears I shed, and by these Knees of yours which I now embrace, do not, I intreat you,
so

so far forget the Duty you owe to God, to your Countrey, to me, and to your self: Why will my *Fieschi* precipitate himself and me into Calamities which he may so easily avoid? How shall I be able to undergo the weight, of expecting every Minute, (with the Ominous Presages of a Trembling Heart) the piercing News of your Death; which will be but the beginning of my Disconsolate and Disgraceful Widowhood; for how can I expect better Usage (though the Calamities of that State seldom fail to move Compassion) than to be pointed at, and taken notice of, as the Partner of your Bed, and the Concealer, if not Sharer, of your Treason. Can you be so Cruel as to abandon me for a Prey to the Lust of the Soldiers, and the Fury of the Populace, who (I fear) will ere it be long come to pillage and destroy this House, as part of the Just Punishment due for your Rebellion; and in that Lamentable Outrage how can I expect to be
free

free from their Violence and Rudeness? Therefore, my Dear Lord, alter yet your Resolutions, and proceed no farther in this.

She wou'd have proceeded, but her Grief interrupted her, and *Furci* perceiving that *Paula* was prepared to second the Countesses Request with Arguments to dissuade him from so Flagitious an Enterprize, put an end to their intended Debate by this Answer.

Let not my *Leonora* preface so unhappy a conclusion to my Enterprize, but rather entertain her Mind, during my absence, with the pleasing hopes of a Fortunate Event. My Destiny has engag'd me in this Design, and my Affairs are now in that posture, that whether I will or no, I must proceed; therefore (my Dearest) compose your Mind to that temper, as not to be surpriz'd with excessive Joy at my good Success, nor with too intense a Grief, if the contrary should happen. Within a few Hours you will hear either of my Death

Death or Victory. And so Farewell.

About this time *Verrina* return'd to the Palace,, and assur'd Count *Fieschi*, that there was no reason for him to apprehend any manner of opposition in any part of the City; that his Galley well Mann'd and Arm'd stood ready for a Signal to block up the entrance of the *Darsenne*, and shut up (as it were) *Doria's* Vessels which were then in that Harbour. *Fieschi* upon this distributes Arms to those whom he had got together, and about Ten at Night began his Expedition, having Marshal'd his Men in this order. His Van-Guard consisted of One Hundred and Fifty Chosen Men, whose Courage and Skill in these Affairs he had frequent Experience of. Next March'd the Count himself (attended by the Nobles of his Party,) and, as it became a careful General, he made it his business to see that his Soldiers observ'd the necessary Discipline of keeping in their Ranks and Files. When they
were

were come near to the Suburbs, *Fieschi* dispatch'd his Natural Brother *Cornelius* to seize the *Gate del Arco*; which he took without great difficulty, the Garrison-Soldiers who were but few, not expecting to find themselves in a time of Peace to be so fiercely Attack'd from without, and at the same time betray'd from within their Walls by the Treachery of *Fieschi's* Adherents. The Count being flushed with this good Success, sends away presently his Two Brothers *Ferome* and *Ottobuoni*, together with *Vincentio Calcagno*, to possess themselves of the Gate of *St. Thomas*. Just at this time the Galley discharg'd their Cannon, which was the Signal agreed on to give them notice of its arrival to the place appointed. As soon as *Fieschi* heard this, he and the Soldiers that attended him hasten'd their March to the Bridge of *Cattani*, having in their way thither pass'd through *St. Andrew's Arch* to *St. Donate's*, and from thence all along the Street call'd *Piazza*

azza de i Salvaghi. When they came to the Bridge of *Cattani, Verrina* being got on board the Galley, *Thomas Affereto* endeavour'd to make sure of the entrance into the *Darsenne*; who at first had a free admittance granted him by those who guarded this Port, because when he told them his Name they knew him to be a Servant of *Jannetin's*; but as soon as they saw how many Soldiers follow'd him, they suspected his design, and by main force thrust him out again, and put themselves vigorously on the defensive. So that this Stratagem failing, and it being very necessary that some Body shou'd get in at that passage, and open the Gate for *Fieschi's* entrance, it was resolv'd that *Scipio Borgognoni*, one of the Count's Subjects, fam'd for his Courage and Conduct, shou'd Arm and Man some of the smallest Vessels, with which, thus provided against all Exigences, he shou'd by Sea force his passage into the *Darsenne*, and open a way for the Conspirators Irruption at the

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place,

place, where the Imposts upon Wines are assessed and paid. And thus was the design successfully executed: For although there were some Contrasts before the Soldiers in Garrison would quit their Post; yet the Assailants being more in number, and of a more daring Courage, than the Besieged, they quickly forc'd them to abandon their Fort.

By this time *Fieschi* arriv'd by Land to the *Darsenne*, and waited every Moment for the Signal which was to give notice that his Galley was got safely thither: But it happen'd that she came some time later than had been agreed on; for, the Water being shallow, she ran aground, and it cost them full half an Hour to Lanch her out again into the Deep.

These tumultuous motions by this time had rais'd a Hurly Burly in the *Darsenne*; but before the *Genoueses* could be thoroughly alarm'd with it, Count *Fieschi* hearing the Signal given, order'd his Soldiers to fall upon

Doria's

Doria's Gallies with all imaginable vigour and fury, which was accordingly executed, he himself performing his part in this Assault. This unexpected violence, and the sight of such a number of arm'd Men in possession of the Port, quickly alarm'd both the Seamen and the Galley Slaves; and now the Air was fill'd with a confus'd and dreadful noise, the Slaves joining together in the common cry of Liberty, and endeavouring to burst their Chains, the detestable Badges of their Villainy and Servitude. But Count *Pieschi* never intended (nor would it have much forwarded his design) to be Master only of so many empty Vessels; therefore to prevent the damage that would accrue to him by the flight of these Slaves, he made all possible hast to get on Board the Admiral Galley which made no great hast either to escape or to return the violence the Enemies had offer'd its Commander and Soldiers, being startled at these

La Capitan.

unexpected disorders. *Fieschi* being eager to accomplish this design, order'd a plank to be laid for his Passage, one end of it resting on the shore, and the other on the ladder in the poup of the Vessel; this moveable Bridge prov'd the ruin of the whole Project; for neither end of it being fasten'd, and the Galley hapning, by some accident or other, to thrust farther from the shore, *Fieschi* and the Bridge he so rashly trusted with his life, were of a sudden plung'd in the Waves.

He was arm'd at all points, and with the weight of this he was so oppress'd, that he could not save himself by swimming back to the Shore; and the darkness of the Night, and the tumultuous Noises of so great a concourse of People, hindred his Friends from perceiving the fatal Accident, or hearing the cries and shrieks of their Leader in this desperate Extremity, which quickly put an end to his life; he being rather stifled in a puddle of Muddy Water, than

than drown'd in the clear Ocean, and being clogg'd and weigh'd down by that Armour, in which he had plac'd his greatest security.

Thus the Almighty by his unerring Providence derides and frustrates those Cobweb Policies and vain Projects, wherewith unhappy short-sighted Mortals amuse themselves, for this formidable Conspiracy, which had been fram'd and carried on at the expence of so much time, and so many cunning Artifices, which was now secur'd and strengthen'd by a competent Army, and was just ripe for Execution, was at this very instant shatter'd and destroy'd, by an event sudden, unexpected, and in all appearance purely casual: Divine Justice involving the Conspirators in those dreadful Calamities, to which their Treacherous cruelty had design'd to sacrifice their Native Countrey.

In the mean time (notwithstanding this Accident) the Conspirators boarded *Doria's* Gallies, and mann'd them with a sufficient number of their own

Soldiers, of whose fidelity they had had the greatest experience.

Nor were *Fieschi's* two Brothers *Jerome* and *Ottobuoni* any ways wanting in the Execution of their Commission; for as soon as they heard the Cannon discharg'd, (which was the signal agreed on) they attackt the Gate of *St. Thomas* with 600 Men; intending when this was in their Power, to march from hence directly to *Doria's* Palace (which was situated without the City Walls, and at a small distance from this Gate) and there barbarously to assassinate *Andrew Doria* and his Nephew *Fannetio*. The Garrison that was posted at this Gate, made an honourable resistance for some time, and had not *Fieschi* corrupted some of the Soldiers with Bribes, it is not a little probable that this attempt had prov'd unsuccessful. For *Sebastiani Lerearo* and his Brother, one of them being Captain, and the other Ensign of that party, coming in at that instance to their assistance, held the Conspirators to a sharp and bloody

bloody Combate, till at last the Captain being taken Prisoner and the Ensign kill'd in the Skirmish, the defendants being betray'd by some of their fellow Soldiers, and briskly assaulted by their Enemies, were at last put to flight, and so lost that Gate they had so well defended; and which the Conspirators rather bought with their Money than acquir'd by their valour. The Shouts of the Soldiers, the Clashing of Weapons, and the Noise of the tumult grew so loud that it was heard to Doria's Palace. The old Man was at this time confin'd to his Bed by a violent fit of the Gout; but however was mightily alarm'd at these unaccountable Confusions; as was also *Jannetin's* Wife, who being wak'd by them presently, told her Husband she apprehended the Galley Slaves were in a Mutiny. He presently got up, and perswading himself that he should only find his own Seamen engag'd in some * jocular quarrel, or some acci-

* una rissa accesa per cagione d'ignoc.

dental squabble easily reconcilable, he marcht towards the Gate of *St. Thomas*. And as if fate had hurried him on to his certain destruction, he took no Arms with him but a Sword, nor any attendants but one Servant, and a Page, who carri'd a Torch before him; although his Uncle, prudently considering that the danger might be greater than it at first appear'd, had advis'd him to take with him a sufficient number of Men and Arms to defend himself against any Violence that might be offer'd him; and his Wife had with the most tender and affectionate Entreaties endeavour'd to perswade him not to stir abroad till Morning; But he was deaf to her Prayers, and regardless of his Uncle's Advice.

Jannetin, when he came to the Gate, supposing it was still Guarded by those Soldiers of his own Party, whose Charge it us'd to be, being vex'd at this unseasonable Disturbance, and not finding so ready an admittance as he expected, call'd out
to

to them aloud * in an imperious manner (as was his custom) and commanded them to open the Gate to him; which the Conspirators very joyfully did, as soon as they knew by his voice, that it was *Fannetin Doria*, whom they hated and fear'd as one of the greatest Obstacles to their wicked designs.

* con Pufata
alterezza.

Having thus a fair opportunity for executing their Malice, they lost no time; but as soon as ever *Fannetin* had put his head within the Wicket, they fell upon him with all the Weapons they had at command, and barbarously Murther'd him leaving hardly any part of his body free from the bloody Characters of their Cruelty. But Divine Justice signaliz'd it self in the revenge of this Murther, for at the same instant that unhappy *Doria* fell a Sacrifice to the fury of his Enemies, Count *Fieschi* (as some Writers observe) who was the chief contriver of this Murther, and by whose particular order his Soldiers perpetrated it,

it, ended his life in the wretch'd manner above related.

Fannetin Doria was a Person worthy of a longer life, for he was a true lover of his Country, and a Scourge and Terror to the Corsaires of *Barbary* and other Pirates, who cruis'd about the Coasts of *Genova*, and interrupted the freedom of Commerce: Therefore (if *Genova* must have lost him in the Flower of his Age) his Death would have been much more glorious, had he expir'd in the heat of Battel, fighting against the common Enemy, than to perish (as he did) by the inhumane Malice of Seditious Assassines and Traitors, who had set their Country in a Flame and were just upon the point of completing its ruine.

It was a thing to be wonder'd at that those who murder'd *Fannetin* did not, as was at first resolv'd, run presently to *Andrew Doria's* Palace, and at the same time (as would have been no difficult matter) have secured themselves (by acting the same Villainy

Villainy on the Uncle which they had lately done on the Nephew) from the possibility of another Revolution, under the Conduct of that Patriot, who had once before, and might again restore the liberty of *Genova*. Nor had they reason to expect any thing at his hands in case he should survive their Malice and overthrow their Designs, but to be made memorable examples of Publick Justice, both for their bold Rebellion and their many Murthers, especially that of *Jametin* which they might be sure would most nearly affect him. But this Flagitious Act they forbore; whether it were that the horror of what they had already done rais'd such a tumult in their minds, as is usual with wicked Men that they knew not for a while, what to resolve on next. Or whether they were stopt in the violence of their Career by *Jerome Fieschi* the Count's Brother, who had no great apprehensions of any ill Consequences from the life of *Andrew Doria*, a Man
of

of Fourſcore years Old; and very infirm in his Body, left without guards and very thinly attended; now that he had diſpatcht *Fannetin* a bold and reſolute Young Man, and that *Doria's* Gallies and thoſe of the Republick were (as he believ'd) in the poſſeſſion of his own adherents, and that he had ſubdu'd his Enemies within the City, and taken their moſt conſiderable Fortreſſes, ſo that he thought himſelf ſecure of the Conqueſt: Or laſtly, whether he fear'd that while the Soldiers greedy of Rapine were wholly intent upon the Plunder of ſo rich a Palace as *Doria's*, their Enemies might ſurprize them and cut them in pieces; or were deſirous (as is probable enough) to reſerve that magnificent furniture, (which the rudeneſs of the Soldiers would not have ſpar'd) whole and entire, as it then ſtood, to grace the Triumphs of his Brother at his Victorious Entry.

In the mean time the Noise and Tumults increas'ing, and *Andrew Doria* not knowing the occasion of them, enquir'd often what was become of *Jannetin*, but cou'd hear no Tidings at all of him, nor receive any satisfactory Information about the Dreadful Confusions that reign'd in all Quarters of the City: At last he sent *Louis Julia*, one of his Domesticks, into the City to learn the cause of these Disorders, who brought him word in a very little time, that Count *Fieschi* was become Master of the City; that the Circumstances of the Republick were extreamly dangerous; that the Gallies were in the possession of the Conspirators; that the Populace were in so high a Sedition, as to declare openly for Liberty, and to wish Success to the Arms of *Fieschi* whom they look'd upon as their Deliverer; that Arm'd Men outrageous-ly Violent were to be met with in every Street, who like Mad Men threatned Destruction, and a general Plunder to all the Houses of Rich Men;

Men; that there was nothing to be seen but Quarrels, Bloodshed, and Murther; and that in all parts Opprobrious and Reproachful Language, with the bitterest Curses and Execrations against the Nobility were to be heard; and lastly, that himself was in a particular manner destin'd a Sacrifice to their Rage and Malice.

This News, though it did not at all affrighten the good Old Man, yet it touch'd his Soul with so sensible a Grief, to see his Countrey, which he had always lov'd with the tenderest Affection, just upon the brink of Ruin, that he resolv'd without making any resistance to yield himself a Prey to the Impetuous Fury of the Conspirators: Saying, that he ought not to live after the Subversion of the Republick; and that he was now willing and desirous that the small and unhappy remainder of his Life, shou'd have the same Period with the expiring Liberty of *Genova*.

But

But the earnest Requests and Tears of his Wife, together with the obliging Violence of his Servants, over-ruled his former Resolutions, and prevail'd with him to hasten his departure ; which, they told him, was now become necessary : Representing to him withall, that since the Annals of his Life were full of so many generous and publick spirited Actions, he ought to reserve the close of it for the Common Good of his Countrey : That therefore he ought to be willing to Live, that he might see his own Glory and Reputation redoubl'd, by restoring *Genova* once more to her Liberty, and repelling that Tyranny which was now imminent, but under his Auspicious Conduct might yet be Crush'd : That now was the time for him to render his former Conduct the more illustrious, by supporting these Misfortunes with a calm Fortitude, and by consulting the Dictates of his own Mind, which he us'd to preserve serene and free from the surprize of sudden Accidents, or the oppression

pression of Despair : That *Genova* had now nothing to rely on for her Recovery, but the safety of his Person : That though the Republick were for a while Oppress'd by the Arbitrary Sway of the most Egregious Villains, yet she could not despair of a Resurrection to her former Glorious State; while she knew her Deliverer to be safe : That on all these Considerations he should retire to some more secure place, and there prepare those Remedies for the Publick Distempers, which the present state of affairs made it impossible for him to do while he continued in the City, (besides the extreme danger his Life was in every Minute) that he must not look upon his Retreat, as a timorous flight from the Perils and Disorders of his Countrey, but as an Embassy in which at this Exigency Afflicted *Genova* employ'd him, for her own Safety and Benefit.

Thus by the united perswasions and entreaties of his whole Family, the good Old Man, (who bent beneath

neath the weight of so many Years, and was no less afflicted in his Mind with the sad prospect of the Miseries of his Countrey, than in his Body with the tormenting pains of the Gout) was prevail'd with to suffer himself to be carri'd on his Servants Shoulders, and by them set on his Mule, which convey'd him to *Mazone* a Fortifi'd Castle belonging to the Family of *Spinola*, and Fifteen Miles distant from *Genova*; in his way thither he stop'd at *Sestri*, and there heard the afflicting News of his Nephew *Jannetin's* Death.

While such a series of good Success attended the Arms of the Conspirators, they at last began to miss Count *Fieschi* their Leader, and several of them were detach'd to make a narrow search and enquiry after him. At last, when no news at all cou'd be heard of him, they grew suspicious of the Fatal Accident that had ended his Life: However, the Governing Party among them smother'd these rising Jealousies as well as they could,

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least if it shou'd be nois'd among the Soldiers, they shou'd desert their Colours, and through despair throw up a Conquest already so far advanc'd. They left a strong Guard at every Gate, *Ottobuoni Fieschi* was entrusted with the Gallies, and Two Hundred of the most Valiant of the whole Army, under the Command of *Jerome Fieschi*, were detach'd according to their first Resolutions, to March through the Streets of *Genova* and excite the Mobile to take up Arms and join them. But this design did not succeed according to their expectation, for although a vast number of the Scum of the People fell in with the Conspirators, when they first Proclaim'd a General Liberty to be obtain'd for them by the means of Count *Fieschi*, and that under his Protection they should continue in the secure enjoyment of it, yet not one Trades-Man of any Wealth or Reputation stirr'd a Finger in their behalf. Whether it were that they abhorr'd and dreaded these Tumults
and

and Confusions, out of a sincere desire for the continuance of the Publick Tranquillity ; or that they thought it a Precedent too dangerous to be allow'd of, that one of the Nobility shou'd make use of the Populace only as Tools, for the gratifying his own private Ambition, Avarice, or Vanity : Or whether they thought themselves slighted by Count *Fieschi*, in that he undertook an Affair of so publick an Importance, without communicating his designs and intentions to them from the very first : Or lastly, whether the remembrance of those excessive Grievances under which they had been formerly Oppress'd, made them hate the Democrattick Form of Government. For the Sovereign Power being plac'd in the hands of the most despicable of the Populace, Publick Affairs were manag'd without any respect either to Discretion, or Decency, and the determination of the most difficult matters falling to the share of Fellows that had neither

Sense, Virtue, Education, nor Experience, their Resolutions were consequently Indeliberate, Violent, and Dangerous.

'Tis hardly to be express'd what a disorder these Tumultuous Transactions had put the whole City into. The People run about as if they had been distracted, without knowing whither they had best to go; they ask'd one another what was the cause of these Dreadful Confusions, but they were all struck with such a Panick Fear, that they had not the power to return an Answer. Women of all Qualities appear'd at their Windows, and with the moving Eloquence of Sighs and Tears, Lamented the Dangers to which their Husbands, Brothers, and Sons, were forc'd in this Exigency to expose themselves for the necessary defence of their Countrey. The Nobility were so Amaz'd, that they knew not whether it were best for them, to assemble in a Body at the Doge's Palace,

or

or to stay at their several Houses, and defend them, as well as they cou'd, from being Pillag'd. The Emperor's Embassador being surpriz'd at this unexpected Accident, was preparing to leave *Genoua*, that his Master's Dignity might not receive any Affront, or Outrage, by the Insolence which the Enrag'd Mobile might offer to his Minister; but being over-perswaded by *Paul Lasagna*, a Man who had a great influence over the Populace, he went to his House and staid there. This *Lasagna* during these Distractions, got together a considerable number of his Friends and Dependants; and having an inveterate Pique and Emulation with the Family of *Spinola* on the account of their vast Riches and powerful Alliances, he staid at home expecting the upshot of *Fieschi's* Rebellion; that he might accordingly take such Measures as would best promote his own Interests. For he hoped that by this Revolution there would be a way open'd for the reinstating the Family of the *Adorni* in
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their Ancient Possession of the Principality of *Genova*; several of those who now declar'd for *Fieschi*, being sincere and affectionate Friends to the *Adorni*. The Emperor's Ambassador being resolv'd to stay in *Genova*, and to give what Assistance he could to a Republick so entirely devoted to the Interests of the House of *Austria*, went with all speed to the Ducal-Palace, where he found *Jerome Doria* the Cardinal, *Adam Centurio*, and others of the Nobility, who met the rest of the Senate, and consulted with them, *Nicholas Franco* being President of the Assembly, for at this * *Or Duke*. time there was no * Doge of *Genova*. The result of their Deliberations, was, that *Boniface Lomellino*, *Christopher Pallavicino*, and *Anthony Calva*, with a Cornet of the Guards, and Fifty Soldiers, shou'd march to the defence of the Gate of *St. Thomas*; but in the way thither meeting with a Squadron of *Fieschi's* Party, they Engag'd with it, and being deserted and berray'd by several

veral of their own Men, were forc'd to retreat for shelter to the Palace of *Adam Centurio* : There having reinforc'd themselves with several fresh Men, and being join'd by *Francis Grimaldi*, and *Dominic Doria*, they went boldly by another way towards the Gate, to enquire what was become of *Andrew Doria*. But finding the Gate strongly Guarded, and *Lomellino* (who had bravely attempted to break through their Ranks) being taken Prisoner by the Conspirators, they were again put to flight, and were quickly follow'd by *Lomellino*, who had had the good Luck to make his Escape.

The Conspirators had not yet heard any Tidings of Count *Fieschi*, and *Verrina*, who foresaw that without him their whole Project, though so far advanc'd, was in an extream hazard of being totally frustrated, and having in vain search'd all places where he thought he might find him, began to grow desperate, and betook himself to his Galley : For by secu-

ring this he thought himself, safe, what Event soever shou'd happen. If *Fieschi's* Design succeeded well, then he shou'd be Master of the *Darsenne*, and preserve the strength and flower of the Count's Army for other necessary Services: If the Attempt shou'd fail, as the present Circumstances of Affairs seem'd to Threaten, he cou'd then save himself from the danger of being taken and punish'd as a Rebel, by Rowing as fast as he cou'd towards *Marseilles*. Nevertheless his keeping at such a distance prov'd a very great inconvenience to *Jerome Fieschi*: For that Party of the Conspirators which were on Land, seeing themselves, as it were, abandon'd, both by Count *Fieschi* their Leader, and by *Verrina* the Adviser and Contriver of this Design, and both of them being Instruments absolutely necessary for the carrying of it on, they cou'd not entirely confide in the Conduct of *Jerome Fieschi*. Who being very Young, had neither Experience nor Prudence, but in all his Manage-

Management shou'd himself to be hurried on by an Impetuous Rashness, without considering himself, or harkning to the Reasons that others offer'd him. Besides this, the Soldiers cou'd not have that Esteem and Reverence for him, which they generally bear towards Persons of an approv'd Valour, and an establish'd Reputation; which are the surest Methods to gain an Ascendant over the Hearts of the People. So that they did not only begin to fall off from their first Ardor, but also took all occasions that they cou'd to desert the Service. Of so great Moment is the Esteem Soldiers have of their General, towards the good or bad Success of any Enterprize. But one Accident, which on all accounts shou'd much rather have abated the Heat and Rashness of *Ferome Fieschi*, helped rather to increase it, and to puff him up with that senseless Ambition which afterwards prov'd his Ruin. By this time the certain News of Count *Fieschi's* Death was confidently reported among

mong his Adherents: And his Brother *Jerome* looking upon himself as now the absolute Master of all these Forces, and thinking that the prosecution of his Brother's Ambitious Designs was devolv'd to him as part of his Inheritance, he flatter'd himself with the Prospect of obtaining for himself that Principality, for which he had hitherto Fought in his Brother's behalf. These deluding hopes, and the near view which he thought he had of their Accomplishment, made him exert his utmost Vigour to compleat his Victory; for the Inducements are vastly greater when we know that we our selves shall reap the Fruit of our Toil and Hazard, than when we only Act, as Engines, for the Profit and Advancement of others.

In the mean time the Senators, and the other Citizens, who were assembl'd in the Palace, were not wanting in their Assistance to their Country, now in all appearance reduc'd to the last Extremity; but not having

ving a sufficient number of Forces to Cope with the Conspirators, and being Ignorant of Count *Fieschi's* designs, they could not after all fix on any certain Resolutions. They thought fit however to dispatch *Jerome Fiesco*, and *Benedict Canavale*, as Commissioners from the Republick to Count *Fieschi*, to demand of him what his pretences were for raising these Com-motions, and what End he design'd by them. And quickly after Cardinal *Jerome Doria*, a near Relation of Count *Fieschi*, accompani'd by *John Baptist Lercaro*, and *Bernard Castagna*, two Senators, was preparing to go at the entreaty of the Senate, to desire a Personal Conference with the Count himself; that so he might try whether the dignity of his Character, which sometimes hath greater power than the Ties of Blood, or the Force of Eloquence, would be sufficient to restrain him from making any farther progress in so dangerous an Affair. But several Wise Men dissuaded the Cardinal from exposing the Reve-
 rence.

rence of his Order to the Insults and Affronts of the Populace, who at the best are Rude and Inconsiderate, but were now in a very high Ferment. Hereupon he turn'd back again, thinking it safer and better to deferr the interposing the Authority of his Office, till he should have an opportunity to discourse privately with Count *Fieschi*. So that the Sepate proceeded to a new Choice of some Gentlemen who were sent to know the Count's demands. Their Names were, *Augustin Lomellino*, *Hector Fiesco*, *Ansaldo Justiniano*, *Ambrose Spinola*, and *John Balliano*. These stopt at (*the Church of the Theatins*) *St. Cyro*, and there waited for Count *Fieschi*, whom they saw coming towards them, as they thought, with his Friends, Guards and Attendants. As soon as the two Parties were come pretty near to one another, *Thomas Afferero*, and others of the Conspirators, drew their Weapons and begun to Assault the *Genovese* Commissioners so fircely, that *Lomellino* and *Hector Fiesco*

Fiesco being not prepar'd for so rude a Treatment, got back into the City with great hazard of their Lives. When this Tumult was a little appeas'd, *Ansaldo Justiniano* went up to *Jerome Fieschi*, and demanded of him where he might find the Count, that he might impart to him the Message wherewith the Senate had entrusted him. To this *Jerome Fieschi* return'd a surly Answer, telling him, That he need not enquire any farther for Count *Fieschi*, that he himself was possess'd of that Dignity, and that therefore he expected they should presently yield up to him the Senate House, with all other Publick Buildings and Fortifications which they were yet Masters of. By this unadvis'd and ill-tim'd Answer, the *Genoueses* concluded, that *John Lewis Count Fieschi* was Dead. This inspir'd them with a new Life; for after these Publick Commissioners were return'd to the Senate, and had acquainted them with the certain News of the Elder *Fieschi's* Death, and with the Arrogance

gance of the Younger Brother, they Order'd that Twelve of their Number, shou'd get together as many of the Guards and the Populace, as being well Arm'd, would be sufficient either to drive *Fieschi's* Vanguard out of the City, or to cut them off if they shou'd make a stubborn Resistance. But however, upon second thoughts, they found it was not requisite to run the hazard of a Battel. For those of the Mobile who, at the general cry of Liberty, went out and join'd with the Conspirators, chiefly out of a desire to plunder the Palaces of the Nobility, now finding their expectations frustrated; and repenting of the Sedition they had rais'd, fell off by little and little, and return'd to their own homes. For the Morning coming on apace, none of them were willing to be discover'd to be Accomplices of the Conspiracy. And several of their own Men were inclin'd to follow this Example, thinking it better worth their while, to contrive a secure retreat for themselves, than with the hazard

hazard of their Lives to obtain a compleat Victory, the profitable Consequences whereof would fall only to the share of their Leader. So that *Jerome Fieschi* being arriv'd to *St. Laurence's Church*, (which is the Metropolitcal Church, and not far distant from the Palace, whither he was marching in order to possess himself of it) and being start'd no less at the thinness of his own Troops, and their unwillingness to engage the *Genoveses* than at the Number of Men which had been got together by the order of the Senate, he was at a plunge what course he should take. But at last, out of extream caution for his own security, he went back by *St. Donate's*, marching slowly to the *Gate del Arco*.

On the other side the Senators and chief Citizens of *Genova*, who were assembled at the Palace, receiv'd new Life and Vigour by this unexpected turn of their Affairs : Inasmuch that some of them were of Opinion, that, since *Fieschi's* Troops were in such a disorder

disorder and consternation, it wou'd be rather advisable that those *Genouese* Soldiers, whom they had got together, shou'd make a brisk Assault upon them, than that the dignity of the Senate shou'd descend so low, as to Treat with their Rebellious Subjects on a Capitulation for Peace. But those whose Age entituled them to the Character of Prudent and Experienced Persons, were against this Proposal; as thinking it less Politick, though more specious than the other. For, by avoiding a Battle, they should save the Lives of many Citizens, who must have perish'd in it, (and how Laudable is this Avarice, if I may so call it, in Governours and Generals!) as also by the same caution prevent any sudden Accident, that might turn the Scale of Affairs, and again involve the Commonwealth in those Miseries and Dangers, which, like a Ship that has escap'd the Perils of a Tempestuous Sea, and is now almost got within sight of her desir'd Haven, having lately

lately felt, she had reason to be cautious of those Methods that perhaps might again reduce her to the same Calamitous State. For the City being already in a great Ferment, and it being in the Night time, and several Eminent Citizens being dissatisfied at the present Constitution, and several others of them being already declar'd Rebels, 'twou'd have been as great an Error in Politicks for the Government of *Genova* to have trusted them with Arms, as it wou'd be ill management in a Physician to perplex his Patient with such Medicines as wou'd stir the Humours of his Body, and set them on working, when he is so extreamly Weak, that nothing but a quiet and gentle course of Physick can possibly keep him alive. The Glory therefore of healing these Publick Distempers is to be attributed to the Prudent Advice of *Paul Pansa*, who had before try'd, but in vain, by the most reasonable dissuasives, to prevent them, and to preserve *Fieschi's* Family from the sad Fate that

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attends

attends Perfidiousness and Rebellion. He was call'd into their Assembly, where having given them a satisfactory account of the Reasons of his Conduct, he was order'd to go to *Jerame*, now Count *Fieschi*, and command him from the Senate to quit the City, and to disband his Forces: Which if he would comply with, the Republick promis'd an Act of Oblivion for what was past, and a General Pardon to all the Conspirators. Hereupon, and by *Pansa's* persuasions, and the Advice of *Nicholas Doria* his near Kinsman, who went with *Pansa* to make up this Accommodation, *Fieschi* having left the City, an Instrument was drawn up sign'd by *Ambrose Senarega* Secretary to the Senate, whereby the Publick Faith was given as a Security, that the Government wou'd make good what they had promis'd. So that *Fieschi* quietly retreated to *Montobbio* with his Guards and Adherents. His Brother *Ottobuoni*, with *Verrina*, *Calcagno*, and *Sacco*, who secur'd themselves

on board the late Count *Fieschi's* best Galley, when they saw their Affairs entirely ruin'd, they steer'd their course to *Marseilles*, carrying with them in Chains *Sebastian Lerario*, *Manfred Centurio*, and *Vincenzo Vaccaro*, who were taken Prisoners at the beginning of the Tumult, between the *Darsenne* and the Gate of *St. Thomas*: But these Gentlemen they afterwards releas'd, setting them on shoar at the Mouth of the River *Varo*. Thus *Fieschi's* best Galley Sailing with all possible hast towards *France*, and the Galliot's being likewise dispers'd, the Haven of *Genoa* was again open, and a free passage left for all Vessels to come in and go out without opposition. Hence it came to pass that about Three Hundred Turkish Slaves, (a) who were Cruising about the Island (b) *Elba*, took the opportunity offer'd them by the general Confusion; and having Arm'd and Mann'd *Doria's* Galley, call'd the

(a) *St. Ispettor dell' Alba.*

(b) *An Isle of Tuscany.*

Temperance, they presently turn'd her Prow towards *Africk*, and made such hast, that, though *Don Bernardin Mendoza's* Two Gallies pursu'd her with great Expedition and indefatigable Diligence, they cou'd not overtake her. To this considerable loss of *Andrew Doria's*, we may also add the flight of the Gallies boarded by *Fieschi*, which were rowed off by the Slaves that Manag'd them, and the plundering the other Gallies that remain'd, of all their Arms and Furniture.

'Twas Four Days before the Body of *John Lewis Count Fieschi* was found: So that the Populace were inclin'd to believe he, with the others, had escap'd to *Marseilles*. This made several Apprehensive that the War was rather deferr'd than ended, and that after Count *Fieschi* had openly thrown off the Allegiance of a Subject, and beg'd the Assistance of the *French*, for compleating his Ambitious Designs, he wou'd at his return prosecute the War with greater Vigour,

gour, and with a Cruelty suitable to his Perfidiousness. But this suspicion lasted not long; for in a little time *Fieschi's* Body was found and taken up; and after it had for a while been expos'd to the Publick View, near the place where he fell in, it was, by the order of *Andrew Doria*, carri'd to the Main Ocean, and there Buried in the Waves, though some indeed falsely gave out, that it was hang'd on a Gibbet, which Ignominy, though the Person deceas'd had very well deserv'd, yet it wou'd have look'd more like the Vain Efforts of an Impotent Malice, in Executing a Dead Man, than the Just Punishment of a Criminal.

Now were the *Genoueses* perfectly free from all Fears and Apprehensions; and the Morning after the Senate being Assembled, sent *Benedict Centurio*, and *Dominic Doria*, to Condole with *Andrew* on the loss of his Nephew *Fannetin*, and to conduct him back to the City; where, all Tumults being appeas'd, *Benedict*

Gentle a Person of known Prudence
 and Integrity, and much belov'd for
 his Candid and Affable Behaviour,
 was chosen Duke of the Republick
 of *Genova*. As soon as the *Genoveses*
 found themselves releas'd from those
 excessive Fears which had lately pos-
 sess'd them, and saw their Publick
 Affairs again restor'd to their former
 Channel, of an undisturb'd Tran-
 quility, they began to reflect on the
 greatness of their past Dangers;
 which appearing much more Formi-
 dable now that they were calmly de-
 bated and consider'd, than when the
 General Confusion hinder'd them from
 thinking of any thing, but how to
 escape or surmount the particular
 Danger that at that instant Threat-
 ned them. they were inclin'd to be
 of Opinion, that the Terms of Ac-
 commodation lately granted by the
 Republick, were not only too gentle,
 but also might be unsafe and disho-
 nourable. This occasion'd a long
 Debate in the Senate, many of them
 being of the contrary Opinion, but

at last all Doubts were so thoroughly clear'd, and all Objections so fully answer'd, that it being put to the Vote, it was Resolv'd. *Nemine Contradicente*, That the Publick Faith given to the Conspirators ought not to retard the Executing on them the Punishment due to their Villainy. This their Resolution was ground'd on the following Reasons: That the Pardon lately granted had pass'd in an Assembly, where there was not the Number of Senators requisite, by the Constitutions of *Genova*, to give this or any other Publick Act a sufficient Validity; That a Promise extorted from any Man by Fear or Necessity was not at all Obligatory: And what greater and juster Fears cou'd any one be sensible of, than those they had lately felt, when they saw the Republick in such extream danger of an irrecoverable Ruin? That the Crime of High-Treason was in all respects so Hainous, that no Plea could be allow'd of for the mitigation of its Punishment: That 'tis

hardly possible to invent Tortures severe enough for the Betrayers of their Countrey to suffer: And that so remarkable an Example of Impunity, when the Villainy had been so horrid, and the Consequences of it had like to have been so Fatal, wou'd probably encourage others in the like Attempts. On these Grounds they declar'd their Capitulation with the Conspirators to be *ipso facto* invalid, and that being thus set aside, they form'd Processes against the chief of those who were concern'd in the Treason and Rebellion. The Palaces of *John Lewis Count Fieschi* were Confiscated, and by the Emperour's consent divided into several Houses for Merchants, and other Private Men, and Leas'd out as the Senate thought most proper for the increasing their

(*) *La casa de Fieschi all Inviolata.* Revenüe: *Fieschi's* (*) Palace in the Street call'd *L'Inviolata*, a large, Princely, and Magnificent Structure, was demolish'd and rais'd even to the very Foundations: *Fieschi's* Three Brothers,

Brothers, and *Verrina*, who were look'd upon as the Prime Contrivers and Managers of the Conspiracy, were declar'd Traytors and Rebels: As for other Persons concern'd in it, they being adjudg'd only Accessaries and Abettors of the Fact, were several of them by Name Condemn'd to Banishment for Fifty Years.

But *Ottobuoni Fieschi*, not content with the secure retreat he enjoy'd at *Marseilles*, came back a while after to *Mirandola*, and by his frequent Journeys from the *French Army*, which then lay Encamp'd thereabouts, into *France*, and his returns thither again, gave the Republick just occasion to suspect that there was some new design carrying on against them. *Ferome Fieschi* having Lodg'd himself in *Montobbio*, and *Verrina* being come back to him with several others of his Adherents, he made it his business to Fortifie the Castle, and to lay in vast Stores of Ammunition and Provision. This gave so great an Alarm to the Senate, that having consulted the Emperour,

pereur, they were all of Opinion (as
 he was likewise) that it was absolute-
 ly necessary for them to possess them-
 selves of that Fort. It stands just at
 the back of the City, and besides o-
 ther Natural Advantages for strength,
 its high situation made it formidable
 to the *Genoveses*, as being a place able
 to do them a great deal of Mischief,
 if that Nest of Traytors that had
 shelter'd themselves there, should pre-
 vail with the *French* to make use of it,
 towards the recovery of their former
 Power in *Genova*; which could not be
 compassed without the Ruin of their
 present Constitution. For these Reasons
 therefore the Senate sent *Pansa* again
 to Count *Ferome Fieschi*, to try if he
 could persuade him, and those of his
 Family who had any Interest in the
 Reversion, to sell it to the *Genoveses*
 on such Terms as shou'd be agreed on
 at a Treaty between both Parties. But
Fieschi having but a small stock of
 Prudence, and perhaps being puffed
 up with a vain Opinion of Success
 from the Liberal Promises wherewith
 the

the *French* had buoy'd him up, he did not only deny to comply with the Senate's Proposal, but also, as if he had studi'd to increase the Jealousies they had of him, and to hasten his own Ruin, he told *Pansa*, That he kept the Fort for the Service of a far greater Prince than himself, meaning the *French* King. This Answer surpriz'd the *Genoueses*, that after many threatening Messages sent to *Fieschi*, and Publick Declarations against his Proceedings, they resolv'd to try if they could out him by force. In order hereunto they sent several Companies of Soldiers, with a good Train of Artillery, under the Command of *Augustin Spinala*, an Experienc'd Captain, to besiege the Fort, which, after having held out for some time, was forc'd to Capitulate, but could obtain no better Terms, than that *Jerome Fieschi* and his Adherents shou'd surrender themselves at discretion. This dedition of theirs occasion'd many Disputes in *Genova*, which were at first whisper'd about, till being debated in the Senate,

both

both sides of the Question found its resolute Assertors both in that Assembly, and in all Publick Meetings. When it was propos'd in the Senate, what should be done with *Ferome Fieschi*, and the rest of the Prisoners, the House divided upon it, some were for Pardoning, and others were for Executing the Conspirators. And, (as it commonly happens when any thing is debated by Men that are bigotted to their Opinions,) every one defended his own Sentiments with so much Zeal, and Animosity, that laying aside all thoughts of Moderation between both, some aggravated the Fact as the most Execrable Parricide that ever was committed, and others represented it as the consequences of Juvenile Rashness and Levity, severely enough punish'd by the Death of Count *Fieschi*, and the other Penalties I have already mention'd, and therefore not deserving any farther Censure. This Party had so well exerted their Eloquence, in praising Clemency even to an excess, styling it a Quality absolutely necessary
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for those that sit at the Helm of Government, and in extenuating the Crimes of the Conspirators, calling their design the effects of the late Count *Fieschi's* Ambitious and Revengeful Temper, and the Inconsiderateness of his Brothers who were very Young, that they had almost gain'd their Point, and got it resolv'd that they shou'd be acquitted. But *Andrew Doria* hearing of what Vote was like to pass, and being extreamly griev'd, that the Traytors had so strong a Party even in the Senate-House, who seem'd rather Betrayers of their Countrey, than such Patriots as deserv'd a place in that Assembly, he came thither, and discours'd to them so excellently on the Subject, that he turn'd the Scales to the Juster side: And without any Debate, it was Resolv'd *Nemine Contradicente*, That *Jerome Fieschi*, and the rest of the Prisoners, should be put to Death: Which was accordingly Executed upon them.

Thus

Thus the Conspiracy of *John Lewis Count Pieschi*, which had so much Affrighted and Disturb'd *Genova*, ended at last in the Ruin of himself, his Family, and his Adherents. Had it prov'd Successful, and Advanc'd him to the Power he so much aim'd at, of being absolute Prince of *Genova*, yet it is my Opinion, that he could not have long enjoy'd the Fruits of his Prosperous Villainy. For (to say nothing of the Interests of several Princes in *Europe*, and particularly of the Emperor) the *Genoveses* cannot bear the heavy Yoke of Servitude. Therefore although some Rich Men, of the Inferiour Rank of Citizens, growing Proud and Turbulent, have always had a Pique against the Nobility, and have been ready to join with any Seditious Tumult, or Foreign Force, that pretended to divest them of their Authority; nevertheless the Populace in general, who Enjoy the Ease and Tranquillity of Living under a Moderate Government, cannot hanker

hanker after so great Change as is that of a Free Republick, into a Despotick Monarchy. 'Tis true, the *Plebeians* of *Genova* have sometimes Revolted out of their Natural Inconstancy; sometimes out of Covetousness and Envy at the Wealth of some particular Men; sometimes out of an insatiable desire of Revenge on some Person, Family, or Party, whom they Hated: Yet nevertheless I cannot find by their Annals, that any of these Revolts ever ended in the loss and extinction of their Liberty, but only in changing their Governours, and in making some small alterations in the Form of their Government: As for Example, the Governours whom they receiv'd from *France*, and from the Dukes of *Milan*, never pretended to Act as Absolute Princes, or to be Obey'd without Reserve. And when at any time they stretch'd their Authority beyond its due Limits, the same *Genoueses*, whose Discord had first given them Footing, began to grow Jealous that their Liberty was struck

struck at, and form'd an Association for the Expelling the Foreigners. Nor did the *French* King's Entry into *Genova* with a Victorious Army, or his Building Fortresses almost inexpugnable, accomplish his Design of Governing the Republick after the *French* manner. For the innate Love of Freedom, always inspir'd this Nation with an undaunted Courage and irresistible Vigour, in opposing any Foreign Force whenever they grew Jealous of it; and besides this, those few Eminent Citizens that were Malecontents, had so slender grounds for their Dissatisfaction, that 'twas a very easie matter, in times of common danger, to sweeten their Tempers into a Mutual Reconciliation with each other, and an entire Affection to their Fundamental Constitution. For although the being excluded from the Honours and Dignities of the Republick, (whereunto nevertheless by a Law peculiar to *Genova*, call'd *The Law of Ascription*, there is a way left open for Deserving Men,) and the

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the being sometimes subjected to the Insolences of a Proud and Indiscreet Senator, may seem a great Hardship and Misfortune, yet if with this are balanc'd the many Advantages flowing from a freedom and security of Commerce, and the many Privileges and Liberties enjoy'd in the Chief City of so Wealthy a Republick, the cause of Complaint, if there be any, is extreamly Minute and Inconsiderable. For in *Genova* there is not only an Impartial Administration of Justice exactly observ'd in all Cases without respect of Persons, the Nobility themselves, notwithstanding their Superiority over others, as to Birth, Fortune, or Quality, being Punishable for the Injuries and Oppressions they are guilty of towards the meanest Complainant; but also every one is absolute Master of his own Estate, which under an Arbitrary and Despotic Government, must (together with his Life, and the Honour of his Family) lie expos'd to the unbridled Passions of a Flatter'd and Abus'd Tyrant.

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rant. These Reasons incline me to believe, that Count *Fieschi*, with the Assistance of those few Villains whom *Verrina* had procur'd for him, might have Plunder'd the City, and Inrich'd himself with the Spoils of so many Wealthy Families, and besides all this, taken a full Revenge on his Enemies; but I can hardly perswade my self that he could ever have Oppress'd their Liberties, and Establish'd himself their Prince, unless the *Genoueses* had so far lost their Senses as to think to Cure some small Malady, by applying a Remedy much more Sharp and Violent than the Distemper, which instead of healing the Disease, must unavoidably destroy the Patient.

F I N I S.



E R R A T A.

IN the Translator's Preface, P. 2. l. 4. r. *con-*
firm'd. P. 3. l. 1. r. *the famous.* P. 14. l. 22. r.
same strange. In the Book, P. 2. l. 7. r. *in fomenting.* P.
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